1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

attempted any criticism or comment on the work of others except on special occasions when my own information is lacking or when I am uncertain as to the truth of their statements. Except in those cases in which I definitely refer to the work of others, every statement made in this book is the outcome of my own inquiry or observation. Whenever my account differs from those of others, it may be accepted that I have inquired into the discrepancy and that my account represents the result of a careful investigation.

As some of the accounts of the Todas were written many years ago, there is always the possibility that two dissimilar accounts may both be true and that the differences may represent changes in custom with lapse of time. There is one fact, however, which makes it probable that this explanation of discrepancies is not the true one. The accounts of the Todas which show the closest correspondence with my own are some of the earliest, especially the book of Captain Harkness, published in 1832, and the papers of Bernhard Schmid and C. F. Muzzy, published in 1837 and 1844 respectively. In many cases my work agrees more closely with these than with the accounts of later observers.

This is, perhaps, a suitable place to mention what I believe to be the chief source of error in previous accounts of the Todas. In their extensive intercourse with the Badagas, the Todas use the language of this people, with which they appear to be perfectly familiar. The Toda language is very difficult to understand, and the literature shows that from the first, most of those who have investigated Toda customs have used the Badaga language or Tamil as their means of communication. Every Toda village, every Toda institution or office, and nearly every object used by the Todas has its Badaga name as well as its proper Toda name, and, owing to intercourse through the intermediation of the Badagas, these names have come to be used not only by nearly all who have written on the Todas, but also in official documents connected with the people.

The names by which the Toda villages are known to Europeans are always the Badaga names and not those of

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

special directions, and there are special features of the organisation of buffaloes and dairies not only in each of the two chief divisions of the Toda people, but also in many of the clans of which each division is composed.

I propose in this chapter to sketch some of the chief features of the buffalo and dairy organisation, and in succeeding chapters there will follow detailed accounts of the different dairies and of the ceremonial which accompanies the daily work of the dairy and the important events of buffalo life.

THE DAIRY ORGANISATION

The first distinction to be made concerns the buffaloes. These animals are divided into those of a sacred character and those which may be called 'ordinary buffaloes.' The latter are known as *putiir*; they may be kept at any village, are tended by the men and boys of the village—in Toda language, they are tended by *perol*, or ordinary persons—and their milk is churned in the front part of the dwelling-hut. There is no special ritual of any kind connected with these buffaloes or with their milk, and there are no restrictions on the use of the milk or its products.

The classification of the sacred buffaloes is very different in the two divisions of the Toda people. The Teivaliol possess only one class of sacred buffalo and these buffaloes are called collectively *pasthir*. The Tartharol, on the other hand, have several classes of sacred buffalo, and, so far as I could ascertain, they have properly no collective term for all of them, though they are often spoken of by the Teivali term, *pasthir*.

Possessing only one kind of sacred buffalo, the dairy organisation of the Teivaliol is comparatively simple. The milk of the *pasthir* is churned in dairies at the more important villages of each clan. The dairy is, in general, called *pali*,[1] and the dairyman is called *palikartmokh*, 'dairy watch-boy,' or *palikartpol*, 'dairy watch-man,'[2] according to his age; but,

[1] This word should probably be *paḷḷi* and was usually pronounced *paḷṭhḷi*, but I have adopted the spelling of the text for the sake of simplicity.

[2] According to some Todas, *kart* was a shortened form of *karithl*, milking or milked.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234 621 463 778 192 probably owing to the general custom of employing youths or young men to fill the office of dairyman, the term *palikartmokh* is in far more general use, and is often employed even when the dairyman is an elderly man.

At many of the chief Teivali villages, there are two dairies; a large dairy, called *etudpali*, and a smaller, called *kidpali*. Each of these dairies should have its own *palikartmokh*, and this is still the case when both dairies are used, but at most villages at the present time one of the two dairies has been disused and there is in consequence only one dairyman.

[421] Both ordinary and sacred buffaloes are the property, not of the whole clan, but of families or individuals, and the buffaloes tended at the dairy of a village are, in general, the property of the family living at that village. A large clan with many villages, such as that of Kuudr, has many dairies in working order and a corresponding number of dairymen.

Among the Tartharol the organisation is far more complicated. Most Tarthar clans have more than one kind of sacred buffalo in addition to the ordinary buffaloes or *putiir*. In every clan there is one kind of sacred herd which may be said to correspond to the *pasthir* of the Teivaliol. The milk of these buffaloes is churned in a dairy called *pali* by a dairyman called *palikartmokh* or *palikartpol*. There are, however, two grades of dairy corresponding to these buffaloes. The lower grade is called the *tarpali*, or more commonly *tarvali*, and is served by a *tarvalikartmokh*. The higher grade is called *kudrpali*, tended by a *kudrpalikartmokh*. There is no distinction of buffaloes corresponding to this distinction of dairies, the same buffaloes being tended sometimes at a *kudrpali* and sometimes at a *tarvali*. The distinguishing feature of a *kudrpali* is the possession of a *mani*, or sacred bell, and the greater elaboration and stringency of its ritual is due to the presence of this sacred object.

In addition to the buffaloes tended at the *tarvali* or *kudrpali*, most Tarthar clans possess other sacred buffaloes called *wursulir*. These buffaloes are tended by a dairyman called *wursol* and their milk is churned in a dairy called *wursuli* or *wursulipali*. One point which marks off this branch of the dairy organisation from the preceding is that

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

the dairyman, or *wursol*, must belong either to the Teivaliol or to the Melgars clan of the Tartharol. Both *tarpalikartmokh* and *kudrpalikartmokh* are chosen from the Tartharol, either of the same or of a different clan from that of the dairy, but the *wursol* must be taken either from the members of the other chief division of the Todas or from one special clan of the Tartharol, a clan which has many other peculiar privileges and occupies a position in some ways intermediate between Tartharol and Teivaliol.

234
621
463
778
192

The ritual of the *wursuli* is distinctly more elaborate than than that of either *tarvali* or *kudrpali*, and the *wursol* is a more sacred personage, so far as one can judge from his rules of conduct and the elaboration of his ordination ceremonies.

Two Tarthar clans have dairies of especial importance and sanctity, in both of which there are distinctive features of ritual.

The people of Taradr possess a herd of buffaloes called *kugvalir* which take their name from the dairy, the *kugvali* or *kugpali*, meaning the chief or great dairy. The *kugvalir* are tended by a *kugvalikartmokh*, who must belong to the Taradrol. The six chief families of this clan take charge of the buffaloes for periods of three years in rotation, and the head of the family in charge selects the *kugvalikartmokh*.

The other Tarthar dairy which occupies an exceptional position is that of *Kanòdrs*, which is called a *poh*, and is tended by a dairyman called *pohkartpol*. The ritual both of this dairy and of the *kugvali* of Taradr resembles in some respects that of the most sacred Toda dairies, the dairies of the institution called the *ti*.

The number and nature of the dairies are different in the different Tarthar clans and in different villages of the same clan. The Melgars clan has only one kind of dairy, the *tarvali*. The Nòdrs clan now has a *tarvali* and a *wursuli*, and at most Kars villages there are both *kudrpali* and *wursuli*, but formerly both at Nòdrs and Kars there were three kinds of dairy, *tarvali*, *kudrpali*, and *wursuli*. Some Pan villages have *tarvali* and *wursuli*, others *kudrpali* and *wursuli*. At Taradr there are both *tarvali* and *wursuli* in addition to the special institution of that clan, the *kugvali*.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

must also be celibate while at the dairy. The *pohkartpol* must take his food sitting on the outer wall which surrounds the dairy. He must not put his hand to his mouth, but must throw his food in; nor must he put the leaf used as a cup to his lips, but must pour into his mouth from above.

Several of these rules and restrictions are even more severe than those for the *palol*, to be considered in the next chapter. The reason given for the strictness of ritual is that the god Kwoto or Meilitars "had done so many wonderful things on that side" (see Chapter IX).

One feature peculiar to the Kanòdrs dairy is that milk receives the special name *persin*. This is the name of the churning-vessel of the *ti*, but is not used for milk in any other dairy. Otherwise the names used at Kanòdrs are the same as at other village dairies.

The Teivali Dairy

Among the Teivaliol, the various grades of dairy and dairymen so far considered have no existence. Many Teivali villages have two dairies, but each is served by a *palikartmokh* of the same rank.

The general procedure of the Teivali dairy does not appear to differ in any very marked respect from that of the Tarthar *tarvali*. The most marked difference which I could discover is in the clothing of the dairyman. When engaged in the dairy operations, the Teivali *palikartmokh* wears, at any rate in some cases, the *tuni*, or garment of dark grey cloth of the same kind as that worn by the *wursol*.

The sacred buffaloes of the Teivaliol are known as *pasthir*, and there are no differences corresponding to the different grades of the Tartharol. Similarly with one exception, the Teivali *pasthir* of each clan have no special names like the *martir*, *nashperthir*, &c., of the Tartharol. The exception is that the buffaloes of the Piedr clan are called *kudeipir* or *kudipir*, apparently the same name as that of the *wurzalir* of Pan.

The village of Kiudr, belonging to the Kuudrol, possesses a dairy of special sanctity (see Fig. 31). It is served by a

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

given above were omitted, while others were added, especially requests for protection against special animals, as *pob ârk mâ*, "may there be no snakes," and *ptrzi ârk mâ*, "may there be no tigers." One man concluded with the words *erdâdrsink erdâdri ini*, "I know half to pray, I know not half to pray,"[1] but I do not know whether this was an individual peculiarity or a special feature of the prayer of his dairy.

It seemed clear that the whole prayer referred to the buffaloes. It may be summarised as follows:

"May it be well with the buffaloes, may they not suffer from disease or die, may they be kept from poisonous animals and from wild beasts and from injury by flood or fire, may there be water and grass in plenty."

The first part of the prayer contains a number of clauses each of which usually consists of the name of an object of reverence followed by the word *idith* (often contracted into *ith*). This word is said to mean "for the sake of," so that the prayer as a whole seems to consist of clauses mentioning a number of objects of reverence for the sake of which the prayer is said, followed by the prayer consisting of clauses directed to avert evils or bring blessings on the buffaloes of the dairy. The word *idith* is used in the sense of "for the sake of" in ordinary language. Thus, "for my sake, leave him," would be "*en idith, an pidr*" (me for the sake of, him leave).

The objects of more or less sanctity thus mentioned in the prayer are not called by their usual names, but are referred to by means of special names to which the general term of *kwarzam* is given. In some cases the *kwarzam* differs little from the ordinary name, while in other cases it bears no resemblance to it.

The *kwarzam* mentioned in the prayer fall into several groups: there are the *kwarzam* of the gods, of the buffaloes, of the villages, of the dairy and of its various parts, vessels and implements. In some cases, especially in the case of the *ti*, we shall find that different dairies differ in the prominence given to each kind of *kwarzam*; that the prayer of one place

[1] *Erd* means two, and this translation is a free rendering of the Toda words, though it probably conveys the proper meaning.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

consists chiefly of *kwarzam* of the dairy, while in the prayer of another the *kwarzam* of the gods or of the buffaloes predominate.

In some prayers there occur *kwarzam* of a special kind containing references to incidents in legend—incidents which occurred in the life of some deity especially connected with the dairy at which the prayer is used, or other *kwarzam* may refer to incidents in the history of the dairy or of the village in which the dairy is situated.

I had great difficulty in obtaining examples of the prayers, or rather of those portions consisting of the *kwarzam* of the sacred objects. There was little objection to giving the prayer proper; it was only when the *kwarzam* were approached that the difficulty arose. It was evident that it was this portion of the prayer which was regarded as especially sacred and mysterious, and this was doubtless due to the mention of sacred beings and objects by their sacred names.

With much difficulty I succeeded in obtaining the prayers of four village dairies, three belonging to the Kuudrol, while the fourth was the prayer, or part of the prayer, of the Kanòdrs *poh*. I was also successful in obtaining two *ti* prayers and fragments of others.

The Village Prayer

The following are the *kwarzam* of the prayer used in the dairy of the village of Kuudr, the *etudmad* of the Kuudr clan. On the left-hand side of the page are given the *kwarzam*, each of which is followed by the word *idith* when the prayer is uttered. On the right-hand side of the page are given the objects, beings or incidents to which the *kwarzam* refer.

Prayer of Kuudr

Atthkdr	Kuudr village and probably also the Kuudr clan or Kuudro.
ònerr	Kuudr village.
palitkdrpali	large dairy at Kuudr (*tkdrpali*).
palikidpali	small dairy at Kuudr (*kidpali*).
tkdrpalikpelk	lamp (*pelk*) of large dairy.
kidpalikpep	all the sacred objects of small dairy.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234 192 788

tûtòdrtho	large buffalo-pen (*tû*) at Kuudr.
tîkidtû	small buffalo-pen (*tî*) at Kuudr.
kadrtərikkadr	calf enclosure (*kadr*) at Kuudr.
keishkvet	sacred buffaloes (*pasthîr*) of Kuudr.
tarskivan	ordinary buffaloes (*putilr*).
kânpep	portion of buttermilk (*pep*) originally given by Teikirzi for *pasthîr*.
âtthpep	portion of *pep* for *putilr*.
mutchudkars	stone in buffalo-pen at Kuudr where the vessels of the large dairy are purified.
tarskikars	stone in pen where the vessels of the small dairy are purified.
nirkiznîr	sacred dairy spring of Kuudr.
Eikisiov	a buffalo whose milk was the origin of the spring.
Pûlmâlpûl	a hill near Kuudr.
Emalpûv	a buffalo which once lived at Kuudr.
Kckathâmûk	a hill near Kuudr.
Karstum	a buffalo which once died on this hill.
teikhkwadiki	a tree by which the dairy vessel called *mu* is buried (see p. 170).
manikiars	the *kiars* tree by which the sacred bell (*mani*) is laid when the dairy things are being purified.
Keikars	a hill near Kuudr.
keitnòdi	hill near which the *erkumpîthîti* ceremony is performed (see Chap. XIII).
petût pati pethût ir	chief buffaloes given when Teikirzi divided the buffaloes with wand in hand (see p. 186). Literally, "wand with divide chief buffaloes."
pûthion nâkh tarzâr maj	calf which was the ancestor of the Kuudr *putilr*.

Thus, the prayer would run, "*Atthkâr idith; òners idith; palitûdrpali idith;* . . . . . and the translation would run, "For the sake of the village and clan of Kuudr; for the sake of the village of Kuudr; for the sake of the large dairy of Kuudr; . . . ." as far as the end of the *kwarzam* given above, and then would follow the prayer proper, "*tanenma, tarmama,* . . . ."

This prayer begins with two *kwarzam* of the village or clan, followed by others referring to the dairies and dairy vessels, buffalo pens and buffaloes. Then follow certain *kwarzam* of the *pep* or buttermilk which is of so much importance in the dairy ritual, and those of stones which play a part in the ceremonies attending purification of the dairy vessels. After the *kwarzam* of the dairy spring, there follow a number of *kwarzam* referring to certain incidents in the history of the dairy.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

history of the dairy. *Eikisiov* is the *kwarzam* of a buffalo which was one day being milked at Kuudr when some of the milk was spilt on the ground. From that day the ground became swampy, and on digging, a spring of water was found which has ever since been used as the dairy spring and is called *kisnîr*. The two following *kwarzam* refer to incidents of which I have no record. *Karstum* is the *kwarzam* of a buffalo which was one day grazing on the hill Kakathûmûk when it began to bellow and could not be induced to stop; the people tried to take it back to the pen, but it would not go and died on the hill, and has ever since been remembered in the prayer. These *kwarzam* are followed by two referring to trees of ceremonial importance—one the tree by which is buried the *mu* on the integrity of which the continuity of the dairy procedure depends, while the other is connected with the sacred bell.

Then follow the *kwarzam* of a hill on which there are cairns and that of the sacrificial place of the village. The prayer concludes with two *kwarzam* of a different kind. The first refers to the act of the goddess Teikirzi, who portioned the buffaloes and assigned to each clan its share. In so doing we have seen that she touched each buffalo on the back with her wand, saying in each case to whom the buffalo should belong, and this act is commemorated in the prayer in the form, "for the sake of the dividing of the chief buffaloes with the wand." The last *kwarzam* is that of the calf, from which the ordinary buffaloes or *putîr* of Kuudr are descended, but I was unable to ascertain the meaning of the words, except *nakh*, which is the name of a three-year-old buffalo.

In the Kuudr prayer several of the *kwarzam* refer to incidents of a more or less miraculous nature which are believed to have happened at the village where the prayer is used, while the last *kwarzam* but one refers to one of the chief events of Toda mythology.

It will be noticed that many of the *kwarzam* used in this prayer correspond very closely to the names in ordinary use. Some, such as *keitnòdi* and *teikhkwadiki*, are the same words as those in general use, while others differ from

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234* 192 788 the ordinary words in the reduplication of part of the name, *tûdrpali* becoming *palitûdrpali* and *kisntr* becoming *nirkisntr*.

PRAYER OF KIUDR

234* 192 778 788 The following are the *kwarzam* of the prayer used at Kiudr, which is one of the most sacred of Toda villages.

	Kwarzam of
Kîtvòh	the dairy at Kiudr.
kerâni	one of the *patatmani* of Kiudr.
mêdrâni	the other *patatmani*.
pongg	one of the *ertatmani*.
nongg	another *ertatmani*.
pelteirzi	the lamp of the dairy.
trîlrzi	also the lamp.
kînmûv	the way by which the dairyman goes from the dairy to milk; the *punethalvol*.
nirtâkh	the dairy stream.
nlrtîrshki	also the dairy stream.
keitu	the buffalo-pen.
tûlivanerz	the posts at the entrance of the buffalo-pen
taskipâlûv	the bars of the entrance of the pen.
kadrtûlikkadr	the calf enclosure.
arkatchar	the household stream.
inerti	also the household stream.
ârsvilchkârs	the house (*ars*) at Kiudr.
eivilchâv	also the house.
nersâdrvel	the milking place.
keikûdr	the stream which runs between the house and the dairy (see 307).
kwoteiners *kwelthipuskol* *atamûdri* *araikin* *kârmus* *pârvakûdr*	all of Kiudr village.
arsfem	slope of hill (*fem*) near Kiudr.

The special features of the Kiudr prayer are the large number of *kwarzam* of the village and the inclusion of the *kwarzam* of the house and household stream. The prayer of Kiudr is the only Toda prayer in which either the house or household stream is mentioned, and this fact is in accordance with the high degree of sanctity which has become attached to this village. It will be noticed also that

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234 x
192
778
788

the buffaloes are not mentioned, and that nearly all the clauses of the prayer apply to the buildings and their contents or to other parts of the village or to the village itself. Only the last *kwarzam* of the prayer applies to a place not actually in the village itself, and I could not ascertain why this place was so favoured. With this exception, the Kiudr prayer is one in which the *kwarzam* are entirely limited to those of the village and the dairy.

It will be remembered that when the buffaloes of the Nódrs *ti* migrate from Mòdr to Anto they pass by the village of Kiudr, and that the occasion is observed in various ways by the people of the village (see p. 135). I was told that certain *kwarzam* referring to this occasion are used in the Kiudr prayer. According to one man, these *kwarzam* are always recited in the prayer before those which have been already given, but others denied that they were so used. It is possible that these *kwarzam* are only said on special occasions, such as the day of migration, or it may be that they were formerly used, but are now being forgotten.

These *kwarzam* are as follow:

uner pĕgit nòdr	*ti* buffaloes, come near country.
unken pĕgit nòdr	bell of *marz* dairy, come near country.
eupalol pĕgit nòdr	god *palol*, come near country.
eutuni pĕgit nòdr	god *tuni*, come near country.
eitĭt pĕgit nòdr	hair done up, come near country (this has reference to the practice of tying the hair which is followed by the *palol* when engaged at his sacred work (p. 92).
Teigun ŭrpit nòdr	horn (of *marzir*) blow country.
KTudkudr ŭrpit nòdr	horn (of *ţĭir*) blow country.

Then follow the *kwarzam* already given.

These *kwarzam* are of a different form from those used in the general form of prayer, and the various persons or objects mentioned are referred to either by their usual names or by slight modifications of them, as in *eupalol* or *euvalol* and *eutuni*. There seemed to be no doubt that these words were abbreviations of *teupalol* and *teutuni*, the omission of an initial *t* being not uncommon in the Toda language. Thus in this prayer the dairyman is called "god *palol*," and his garment "god *tuni*."

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234 X
192
788

Prayer of Kwirg

Kwirg is one of the villages of the Kuudrol and is the place to which their buffaloes go when it is necessary to make new *pep* for the whole clan.

Kwatskwirg	Kwirg village.
kûlpudshol	Kwirg village.
palikeithiolv	the dairy.
tûmadshû	the pen.
kadrkeirí	the *kadr* (calf enclosure).
nirtiûdsh	the dairy stream.
pinpunûv	a hill.
pilkârs	a hill.
ârthpep	see Kuudr prayer.
kânpep	
mutchudpep	
keithkvet	
tarshivan	
petût patí pethât fr	
pûthion nâkh tarudr maj	

It will be seen that many of the clauses are common to this prayer and that of Kuudr.

The three *kwarzam* of *pep* were said to be used in every dairy of the Kuudrol, but it did not appear that they were used at Kiudr. The third, *mutchudpep*, is not included in the Kuudr prayer, but *mutchudkars* appears in its place. Two hills are mentioned in the Kwirg prayer, but there are none of the references to special events connected with the village such as exist in the prayer of Kuudr.

The Prayer of the Kanòdrs Dairy

When I was staying at Pishkwosht and visited the conical dairy at Kanòdrs with Neratkutan, he told me that the prayer of this dairy had forty *kwarzam* referring to the gods, as well as many of other kinds, but on going into detail I could only obtain the following:—

Pîr nâr teu	the 1600 gods.
pût nâr teu	the 1800 gods.
Kwoto	Kwoto or Meilitars (see p. 203).

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234 x
192 ●
788

Atioto	Atioto (see p. 210).
Kurindei ten	Kurindo (see p. 192).
Konteu	Konteu or Konto (see p. 211).
Anteu	Anto (see p. 188).
Pòrzo	Pòrzo
Kòdrtho	Kòdrtho
Kàrzo	Karzo
Teikhunten	Teikhun
mänpkh	Kanòdrs village.
mutlrzhpkh	ditto.
tänerth	the pen.
kkudr	the sun ? (see p. 206).
kutsikurt	the stone chain used by Kwoto (see p. 207).
aners	Kuzhu village.
thtashki	Pishkwosht village.

see p. 211.

This prayer is quite unlike those of the other village dairies and was much more like that of a *ti* dairy. As we have seen, the *poh* of Kanòdrs resembles a *ti* dairy both in the elaborateness of its ritual and in the high degree of sanctity of its dairyman, and this resemblance is now seen to extend to the prayer used in the dairy ritual. [778]

Other dairies of the Tartharol which have an especial degree of sanctity are the *kugvali* of Taradr and the conical dairy of Nòdrs. I made great endeavours to obtain the prayers used in these places, but without success.

The ti Prayer

The prayers offered at the *ti* dairies are as a general rule longer and more complex than those of the ordinary village dairy. The latter portion of the prayer, or the prayer proper, does not seem to differ from that of the ordinary dairy, the differences being in the *kwarzam* recited at the beginning. The different dairies of the same *ti* may have different prayers; thus, at the Nòdrs *ti* there is a special prayer for the dairy at Anto which is longer and more complicated than that used at Mòdr, but it is probable that this is exceptional and is owing to the great antiquity and sanctity of Anto. The other dairies of this *ti* probably use much the same prayer as at Mòdr, though there may be certain slight modifications at each.

184
234 x
778
788

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

THE ANTO PRAYER

234X
192
788

This prayer is characterised by a very large number of *kwarzam* referring to the dairy, its contents and surroundings. On ordinary days a shortened form of the prayer is used which consists wholly of *kwarzam* of this kind. On special days, such as the occasions of *ponup* and *irnödrthiti*, other *kwarzam* are said, including those of gods and buffaloes.

The following *kwarzam* are those in daily use, each being followed by the word *idith* as in the village prayer :—

	Kwarzam of
Anto	the *ti*.
eithipŏh	ditto.
mödrpŏh	the *ti poh*.
pŏhtîrzh	the *wars poh*.
ûv	the milking place (*pepharmus*).
pero	the special pen used on the night before the *ponup* ceremony.
keirv	the pen used on the night before the migration of the buffaloes.
kâtû	the ordinary pen.
Teirz	a hill near the dairy on which Anto lives.
tilkav	the back of the dairy (*pohpalikef*).
irbâr	the way by which the *kaltmokh* goes to and from the dairy.
Pithipŏh	the cave where Pithi was born (see p. 184).
nersâvul	sacred path to the dairy by which the *mani*, *pef*, &c., are taken.
karkadr	path by which ordinary people approach the dairy.
tadipül	ditto.
einpül	path by which the *palol* goes to draw water.
panpül	path by which the *palol* returns from drawing water.
Kîûln	a hill near the dairy.
Keini	another hill.
tilkln	stream at which the *palol* bathes and washes his garments.
tîtôr	stone by this stream marking the spot by which the *palol* bathes, &c.
teirpül	spot at which the *palol* halts and prays for the third time during the procession to Anto (see p. 135).
teirpŏh	ditto.
nirkâli	place at which *palol* and *kaltmokh* defecate.
Katthvai	hill near Anto (see p. 188).
Kubul	ditto.
Ködrs	place near Anto (see p. 188).
Tvairs	ditto.
teiiithihars	stone rolled by Anto.
teiiithival	lower part of the hill *Katthvai* (see above).

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234 x
192 ●
788

On ordinary days these *kwarzam* are followed by the prayer *tanenma tarmama*, &c. On special occasions the following *kwarzam* are inserted between those already given and the prayer proper:—

	K'warzam of
Ekîrzam meidjam	Teikirzi, Tirshti.
K'ûdreij	Kudreiil dairy.
tîdj	ditto.
Kûlâdrtho	Kuladrtho dairy.
Perithi ti vaners	*ti* dairy at Perithi in the Wainad.
Kôti	One of the hills at which fire is lighted by the *palol* at the *tentûtusthchi* ceremony (see p. 291).
pagvôh	ditto.
Pûthi	another hill at which fire is lighted.
ônul	ditto.
Kûlinkârs	Kulinkars (see p. 188).
Nôtîrzivan	Nôtirzi (see p. 189).
Kuzkârv	Korsteu (see p. 190).
unir	one group of *tiir* (see p. 112).
unken	*mani* of *wars* dairy.
Persin	*mani* of *ti* dairy.
kûdrs mani	bells of *punir*.
tadsth	axe which came from Amnôdr with the buffaloes.
îâpâr	an iron bar.
âier	the second group of *tiir* (see p. 112).
teiter	the third group of *tiir*.
K'îrz	the buffalo which has the *mani* called Keu put on its neck.
pîlli	buffaloes (*unir*).
persv	ditto.
K'îrv	buffalo which drinks *pep* on day of migration (see p. 135).
K'îthi	buffalo which wears the *kudrs mani*.
kudîvôdrs	the path at Môdr by which ordinary people approach the dairy.
tadrpôrs	place near Môdr at which the *palol* and *kaltmokh* defecate.
tarikipûl	place near Môdr where the *erkumptthpimi* ceremony is performed.
kidhadr	calves' hut (*karanpoh*) at Môdr.
ponpôh	*ti* dairy at Môdr.
kidpôh	*wars* dairy at Môdr.
Ôdrtho	*ti* dairy at Ôdrtho.
K'ûdreiil	*wars* dairy at Kudreiil.
mundrtan	a *ti* dairy.

The following is all I was able to obtain of the prayer used at Môdr:—"*Ekîrzam meidjam idith, Anto eithipôh idith, Kûlinkârs idith, Nôtîrzivan idith, Kûlâdrvan idith, Teukuteithi idith, K'ûdreij tîdj idith, Kuzkârv idith, Alvoi Kalvoi*

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234 X
192
788

idith, tanenma tarmama," &c. Two of these *kwarzam*, "*Teukuteithi idith*" and "*Alvoi Kalvoi idith*," are not mentioned in the Anto prayer. I have no doubt that the list of *kwarzam* is very incomplete.

THE PRAYER OF MAKARS

The following is the prayer used at Makars, the chief dairy of the Kars *ti*. The *kwarzam* of the dairy are here comparatively few in number, but the prayer is especially rich in the *kwarzam* of gods and buffaloes, and it furnishes a very good example of the relation of the prayer formulæ to the Toda legends.

The *kwarzam* of the prayer run as follow :—

Anto	The god Anto.
Nôtirzivan	Nòtirzi.
Kûlinkârz	Kulinkars or Teikhars.
Kuzkârv	Korateu.
Onkonm	Onkonm who lives on a hill in the Kundahs.
Ekhrzam meidjam	Teikirzi and Tirshti.
Azo / *Mazo*	Azo and Mazo.
Katadrvanpok	place near Kûlinkars.
Peigwa	god living on hill near Makurti Peak.
Karmunteu	Karmunteu.
Kotsgârth	the Paikara river (Teipakh).
Koudilteu	Kondilteu, a god opposite the hill of Kòti.
Mûndilteu	a god on a hill near the last.
Onûkpok	place near Majodr.
Kûlûdrazenteu	god on a hill near Kuladrtho.
kaban adi arten teu	"iron door shut god."
kaban kûl eiten teu	"iron stick held god."
mòrz ver arten teu	"*mòrz* tree under event god."
kûghir kûdr kwaten teu	"crooked horned buffalo horn cut god."
tebkûter at, tan mun madrik teu	"imitation buffalo horns took, his mother's brother's lap god."
mûvel kâritan teu	"sambhar from calved god." (The last six *kwarzam* refer to the story of Kuzkarv (see p. 190).
pûlnerkârz	buffaloes of *tl* called *pûrstr*.
teinirkan	ditto.
pirsk munaki potitth ir	"sun to facing that came buffalo."

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234 X
192 ●
788

nerk munekı̂ potitth ir	"bell to facing that came buffalo."
pntûdr mun kekitth ir	"*tûdr* tree back (face ?) rubbed buffalo."
Kitheri kûtk ethkitth ir	"Kitheri stream to jumped buffalo."
pâtûsh kattith ı̂	"desolate pen from made buffalo."
Warwark ethkitth ir	"Warwar (stream) to jumped buffalo."
ö khuberam kitj erdittk ı̂ram	"seven heaps buffalo-dung fire set buffaloes."
pêrnûr	bell (*manı̂*) or *pûrs* dairy.
unêr	ditto.
persagun	*manı̂* of *pars* dairy.
talg	ditto.
mârvtûlı	lamp.
poikar	*pûrs* dairy.
pârsvôk	*pars* dairy.
tînmudrı	pen.
kakûnmudrı	ditto.
nîrkar	dairy spring.
tûlintr	ditto.
pûnpôk	dairy at Enòdr.
kâtû	pen at Enòdr.
pûnnîr	spring at Enòdr.
Enòdr	Enòdr *ti mad.*
mêdrpôk	dairy at Pars.
peiltû	pen at Pars.
tûkintr	spring at Pars.
Pars	Pars *ti mad.*
ûtûrmudrı	dairy at Neradr.
nêrienerı	pen at Neradr.
Neradr	Neradr *ti mad*
pûlvôk	dairy at Kòn.
anerı	ditto.
tedrvôs	pen at Kòn.
pûvîrsnîr	spring at Kòn.
Kòn	Kòn *ti mad.*

Then follow "*tanenma tarmaina*," &c.

The *kwarzam* of the prayer given above are arranged in a definite order. First come the *kwarzam* of sixteen gods or of hills or places closely connected with gods, then follow six *kwarzam* referring to various incidents in the life of the god Korateu. These are followed by two *kwarzam* of buffaloes, and then follow six referring to various features of the founding of Makars, of which an account has been given on

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234X 192 788

p. 116. Then follows a *kwarzam* relating to an incident which is probably recent. The *palol* of this *ti* used to make seven heaps of the dung of the buffaloes. There is a law that the dung should not be sold, which the *palol* disobeyed, and soon after a fire broke out suddenly from the seven heaps, and this event is commemorated in the prayer by means of the *kwarzam* meaning "seven heaps of buffalo-dung, fire set buffaloes," and is included among the *kwarzam* relating to buffaloes, probably because there was a belief that the anger of the buffaloes was the cause of the fire.

The buffalo *kwarzam* are followed by eleven referring to the bells of the *ti* and to the dairy, pen and spring of Makars, and these are followed by *kwarzam* referring to the other places of the *ti*—viz., Enòdr, Pars, Neradr, and Kòn. In each case there are said the *kwarzam* of the dairy, pen, spring, and place except in the case of Neradr, where for some reason the *kwarzam* of the spring is omitted.

192 773 788

The feature of the Makars prayer which is especially interesting is the reference to legend in the *kwarzam*. This reference occurs in the Kuudr prayer and in those of Kanòdrs and Anto, but the references are far more elaborate in the Makars prayer. These references were very useful in providing incidental confirmation of the details of legends previously obtained, while in other cases they put me on the track of stories which I might otherwise have failed to obtain. One point of interest connected with them is that, in the absence of the legends, they might easily be supposed to be meaningless sentences. We have seen that there is reason to believe that the Todas are forgetting much of their mythology, and if the legends referred to in the Makars prayer should be forgotten, these *kwarzam* would become meaningless formulæ. This appears to have happened already in some cases; there were certain *kwarzam* of which I could obtain no translation; thus, all the *kwarzam* of the clans and villages were of this nature and could not be explained, though they almost certainly had a definite origin. A good instance of a *kwarzam* which is on its way towards a similar fate is that at the end of the Kuudr prayer. The meaning of only one word was clear —viz., *nâkh*—while *maj* was probably the word for cloud, and

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

192 ●
773
788

the *kwarzam* appears to refer to some incident of legend in which a three-year-old calf and a cloud were concerned, but I could obtain no record of the incident, nor of the legend of which the incident was a feature.

192
782
788

I have treated these formulæ of the dairy as prayers, and I think there can be very little doubt that they are of the nature of supplications, and are believed to invoke the aid of the gods in protecting the sacred buffaloes. It must be confessed, however, that there is no actual evidence in the formulæ of direct invocation of the gods. The name of no god is mentioned in the vocative form. In some prayers there is barely mention of a god at all, if the term 'god' be limited to the anthropomorphic beings of the hill-tops.

The exact relation between the formula and the gods largely depends on the exact meaning of the word *idith*, which is not quite clear. But, whatever the meaning of this word, it is evident that it is used in exactly the same way in the case of a god as in the case of a buffalo, a place, a dairy vessel, or other even meaner object.

Perhaps the nearest approach to an appeal to gods in the prayer is in the words at the end, in which the names of certain gods are mentioned, followed by the words *ðtham idith emk tânemnd*, "for their sake may it be well for us."

There is little doubt that the Todas offer prayers to their gods in their ordinary daily life, altogether apart from the dairy ritual. I was told by one man that when anyone leaves an *etudmad* he should pray that he may return safely, and in this case my informant said that he prayed to Teikirzi. Unfortunately I did not ask the exact form of the prayer, and do not know whether the goddess was invoked by name or whether *kwarzam* were uttered of the same form as in the prayer of the dairy. We may, however, be confident that the idea of supplication to the gods is not foreign to the Toda mind.

We shall see later that in the formulæ used in Toda sorcery, the names of gods are mentioned, followed by the same word *idith* which is used in the dairy formulæ. In the magical formulæ the evidence of appeal to deities is somewhat stronger than in the case of the dairy formulæ,

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

192 782 788 which are certainly of a religious character. It seems most likely that the word *idith* was at one time used especially in connexion with the names of gods, and carried with it some idea of supplication. Gradually other sacred objects were included in the prayer, the same form being used for them as for the gods, this inclusion being prompted by the belief that the mention of any sacred object might help to promote the efficacy of the prayer. Later, when any mysterious and seemingly miraculous incident occurred at a village, it seems to have become the custom to commemorate it in the prayer.

It is quite clear that at the present time the earlier portion of the prayer, consisting of the *kwarzam*, is regarded as more important than the latter portion, which reads like the actual prayer. I suspect even that in practice the prayer proper is often omitted, or that only the first two words, *tanenma, tarmama*, are said. There certainly seemed to be no very rigorous laws as to the exact number or order of the clauses of this part of the prayer. The earlier portion, on the other hand, is very strictly regulated, and the order in which the *kwarzam* are to be uttered is definitely prescribed. Certainly there is far more reticence in connexion with the *kwarzam*, and this may safely be taken to indicate that a higher degree of sanctity attaches to them than to the words of the prayer proper.

It is probable that the alteration in the relative importance attached to the two parts of the prayer would have to go little further in order to produce a state of things in which the Toda dairyman would use the first parts of the formulæ only, and an anthropologist visiting the Todas at this stage would find them using formulæ which would not be recognisable as prayer.

If, at the same time, the process of forgetting their mythology should also have advanced, the Todas would then provide an excellent example of a people using in their religious ritual meaningless forms of words, and the Toda *kwarzam* seem to furnish one way in which people may come to use such meaningless forms.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234 778 788 The use of *tudr* in the ordination ceremonies is only allowed to the members of the Teivali division and of the Melgars clan of the Tartharol.

Special kinds of dairy or special dairies may have features peculiar to themselves; thus the *pepeirthti* ceremony, in which the dairyman beats on the *patat* with a piece of *tudr* bark, is only performed at the *kudrpali*; the prescription of nakedness when milking is confined to the *kudrpalikartmokh*; the special method of wearing the *putkuli* open in front when going to the buffaloes is only practised by the *wursol*, and the method of taking food sitting on the wall of the dairy and throwing the food into the mouth is peculiar to the *polkartpol* of Kanòdrs.

One feature of interest in the dairy organisation is the existence of different names at different dairies for the dairy products, and for the various objects used at the dairy or in connexion with the dairy ceremonies. The chief differences are found on comparing the village dairy with the *ti*, nearly every object having a different name in the two places, though occasionally a peculiarity of nomenclature may be confined to one dairy, as at Kanòdrs, where milk is called *persin*, the name of the churning vessel of the *ti*. As a general rule it seems that the name used in the village dairy is the same as that in ordinary use; thus, the dairy vessels used in the house for the milk of the ordinary buffaloes are known by the same names as those of the village dairy.

192 234 778 788 The use of special names in the more sacred dairies is probably connected with their high degree of sanctity. The names of the dairy vessels of the village are in common use, and it would doubtless seem sacrilegious that the names of the vessels of the *ti* should be thus in everyone's mouth. Consequently nearly every object used in the ceremonial of the *ti* dairy has a special name, and in the ordinary life of the Todas these words are probably never uttered.

One striking feature of the dairy ritual is the use of the syllable *On*. With one exception (p. 177) this word is always uttered thrice, and it seems to be especially connected with the act of putting curds or milk on the bells. It has a suggestive resemblance to the mystical syllable *Om* of the Hindus. It is

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

also possible that it may be a form of the name of the god Ön, or, again, it may be a corruption of the word *mani*, of which the initial letter has been dropped, a process of which other examples have been given.

It is doubtful how much significance is attached to the right and left sides in the dairy ritual. There is no doubt that in the most sacred acts of the ritual, such as saluting the buffaloes and the sun, or feeding the bell, it is the right hand which is used. This preference of the right hand is emphasised by the action of the *palol* in washing out his mouth, when he takes the water into his mouth from the left hand, because it is his right hand which has most to do with the sacred objects. In the migration ceremonies the dairy vessels are carried on the left shoulder, but at the *ti* the choice of this shoulder by the *palol* is obviously due to the fact that either the *mani* or churning-stick is carried in the right hand, and in other cases it is probable that the choice of the left shoulder is due to the necessity of leaving the right hand free. When the candidate drinks in the ordination ceremonies he holds the cup in the right hand, and this hand certainly has the preference throughout the dairy ritual. On the other hand, the *petuni* is worn on the left side of the waist-string, both by the *kaltmokh*, as a sign of his full rank, and by the *palikartmokh* during his ordination ceremonies.

In the ordinary dairy the side which is on the right hand in entering seems to be the more sacred, and the platform on this side is the *meitïn* or superior bed. In the *ti* dairy, on the other hand, there was some doubt as to the more sacred side. At Mòdr it seemed that the *mani* is on the left hand side of the *palol* as he is performing his duties, but it is doubtful whether this is so at other places, and it may be that my account of the Mòdr dairy is wrong in this respect.

The Sanctity of Milk

The different degrees of sanctity attaching to the different dairies are associated with differences in the rules regulating the use of milk, and these rules seem to show clearly that

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

It will have been noticed that the formulæ recorded in this

754 chapter have the same general form as the prayers of the
788 dairy ritual. They consist of sentences ending in *mâ*, which
192 seem to be of the nature of supplications that certain things
771 may come to pass, preceded by the names of certain deities followed by the word *idith*, occasionally with other sentences allied in meaning to these. The two parts of the prayer are represented, but the first part, consisting of the *kwarzam*, does not appear to have acquired the same degree of importance as in the prayer. Thus the magical formulæ of the Todas have precisely the same general form as those used in their religious ritual. In the case of the prayer, I have pointed out that the actual words leave one in doubt as to whether there is anything of the nature of a direct appeal to the gods. In the magical formulæ, on the other hand, the case for an
[776] appeal to the gods is stronger. In all the formulæ, whether used by sorcerers to bring evils on their enemies or by medicine-men to remove sufferings of various kinds, the names of the same four deities are mentioned, and these four deities, Pithioteu, Ön, Teikirzi, and Tirshti, are undoubtedly four of the most ancient and sacred of the Toda gods. It is noteworthy that the sorcerer does not say the names of these gods when he is removing his spells, but simply refers to them as "those gods," and it is clear that he does this because he does not wish his victim to learn the names of the gods by whose power his misfortunes have been brought about and are now to be removed. This procedure leaves little room for doubt that it is through the active intervention of the gods that the sorcerer is believed to work.

There still remains the question whether the words of the magical formula imply anything of the nature of supplication, or whether the sorcerer is not rather using forms of words which will compel the gods to exert their powers in the way the sorcerer wishes. I have no definite information as to the belief of the Toda sorcerer on the point, but the almost contemptuous tone of the two clauses which follow the names of the four gods might perhaps be held to point to the latter conclusion, and to indicate that the sorcerer can use the gods as his instruments of wrath much as seems to have been the case with the magicians of our mediæval times.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

On the other hand, it is not unlikely that the words, "*â teu sati udâsnûdr, an nòdr nòdr udâsnûdr*," may have originally had a meaning very different from that which the bare translation seems to give to them. A similar formula occurs in the story of Kwoten (p. 194) in the curse uttered by Kwoten's mother, which has the proviso, "*on sati udairnûdr*," which was translated, "if I have reverence to the village." This makes it possible that the translation of the words of the magical incantation should rather be, "if I have proper reverence to the gods and to the gods' country." The interpretation on page 257 is that which was given to me by Teitnir, but it is not at all improbable that it is wrong, and that a translation on the lines of that given for the curse of Kwoten's mother would be more correct.

The nature of the words used makes it clear that the remedies employed by the Toda *utkòren*, or medicine-men, are of a magical kind. The words are essentially the same as those used by the *pilikòren*, or sorcerers, to remove the evils they have brought about by their previous magical incantations. The same formulæ are used to remove ills supposed to be due to natural causes as are used to remove those due to the workings of magic. It seems clear that the Todas have advanced beyond the stage of human culture in which all misfortunes are produced by magic. They recognise that some ills are not due to human intervention, but yet they employ the same kind of means to remove these ills as are employed to remove those brought about by human agency. The advance of the Todas is shown most clearly by the differentiation of function between *pilikòren* and *utkòren*, between sorcerers and medicine-men, and we seem to have here a clear indication of the differentiation between magic and medicine. The two callings are followed by different men, who are entirely distinct from one another, but both use the same kind of formula to bring about the effect they desire to produce. It seems that the powers of the *utkòren* are less definitely passed on from father to son than in the case of the *pilikòren*. There is no doubt that these powers depend largely on a knowledge of the words to be used, and especially on a knowledge of the names of the four gods, but it

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

754 is probable that this knowledge is transmitted from one old
756 person to any other who may be likely to inspire confidence.
[562] It will be noted that a woman can practise the magical remedies of the *utkòren*, but I do not know whether this is a recent innovation. It seems clear that a woman could never become one of the *pilikòren* or sorcerers.

788 When discussing the formulæ of the dairy ritual, it was
192 mentioned that one difficulty in the way of regarding these formulæ as prayers is that the names of deities are not
234 uttered in the vocative form, and that this might be held to
754 negative the idea that they involve supplication to higher powers. In the magical formulæ there seems to be a clearer case for the presence of a distinct address to deities, though it is doubtful whether this address is of a supplicative or compelling character. If there is a distinct address in the case of the magical formulæ, which every Toda would acknowledge to be used for an evil end, it is very probable that the words of the dairy formulæ also involve the idea of an address to deities. These formulæ are always directed to avert evils from and to call down blessings on the buffaloes, and it seems almost certain that for this good end the words imply not only an address to the powers of the gods, but also one of a supplicative rather than of a compelling character.

One distinction between the formulæ of the dairy and those of the sorcerer may be pointed out. In the latter the names of the gods are those used in ordinary conversation, *i.e.*, Teikirzi, Tirshti, and are not the *kwarzam*, *i.e.*, *Ekirzam meidjam*.

771 One of the most interesting features of this chapter has
788 been the clear evidence given in the formulæ of the close relation existing between magic and religion among the
754 Todas. The formulæ of magic and of the dairy ritual are of
793 the same nature, though the differentiation between the sorcerer and the priest who use them is even clearer than that between the sorcerer and the medicine-man. It is probable that the names of the gods with the characteristic formulæ of the prayer are later additions to the magical incantation; that at some time the sorcerer has added the names of the most important of his deities to the spells and charms which at one

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

782 796 *ernkar*, and the *palikartmokh* goes to cut a log of *tudr* wood and three small branches of *tudr* leaves. The calf should be fifteen days old and must be without blemish. Its ears must not be split, its tail must not be cut, and its eyes must be clear.

The log of *tudr* wood is for the killing of the calf and is about four feet in length and about three inches in thickness. Such a log is usually called *tudrkud*, but on this occasion is named *erkumptthkud*. The three branches of *tudr* must consist of perfect leaves. Such branches are usually called *tudrkwunak*, but on the occasion of this ceremony they receive the name *toashtitudr*.

[172] The *palikartmokh* then stands in front of the calf, holding the log and leaves in his right hand. He raises the log and leaves to his forehead as a salutation, and then recites the appointed prayer. This prayer is different for each clan and consists of clauses in each of which the *kwarzam* of one of the villages of the clan is followed by "——*k per mâ*." Thus the first clause of the Kuudr prayer is *atthkârk per mâ*; *atthkâr* is the *kwarzam* of Kuudr, *k* is the suffix, meaning "to," and *per mâ* is "may increase" or "may there be increase." All the clauses of the prayer are of this form except the last two, which are *karsêram parsêram*; *Nòtirzk êr usht mâ*; the first of which is a *kwarzam* of Kulinkars, *êram* probably meaning buffaloes, while the second means, "may the buffalo appear to Nòtirzi." The calf is supposed to appear to Nòtirzi and then to go from the hill of this goddess to the hill of Kulinkars. The complete prayers of Kuudr and Kars are given on pp. 288, 289.

The *palikartmokh* touches the head of the calf with the *erkumptthkud* (Fig. 38) as he utters each *kwarzam* till he comes to the penultimate clause of the prayer, at which point he begins the following series of actions. He draws the three branches of *tudr* leaves along the back of the calf from head to tail and then drops one of the three *toashtitudr* on the ground behind the calf. The two remaining branches are drawn along the back of the calf from tail to head in the reverse direction to the first, and on reaching the head one of the two branches is dropped on the ground at the head of the animal.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

I think it is possible that Teitnir was right, and that the denial of the other Todas was due to their reluctance that I should know the real belief about this ceremony. Even if not correct, Teitnir's account is valuable as a record of an ingenious example of Toda reasoning.

At the ceremony I witnessed there was one feature of some interest. When it was found that the calf had not been killed by the blow with the log of *tudr* wood, the animal was belaboured over the testicles. This procedure had not been included in the account given to me before the ceremony, and I could not discover how far it is an established custom to kill the animal in this way if it is not killed by the blow. The interest arises from the fact that in the ancient Vedic sacrifices, the animal was killed by stopping its mouth and beating it severely ten or twelve times on the testicles till it was suffocated.[1] I have not been able to discover whether this method of killing an animal is still practised in India. If so, it has probably been borrowed by the Todas; but if not, this ancient Indian method may have been preserved by the Todas. I did not observe that the mouth of the calf was stopped at the sacrifice which I witnessed, but this was probably done.

The Erkumptthpimi Prayer of Kuudr

This consists of clauses of the form *Atthkark per ma* in which the following *kwarzam* of villages are mentioned: *Atthkâr* and *Òners* (Kuudr), *Kidnârs* and *Toarsòdri* (Ars), *Moskar* and *Manèthi* (Òdr), *Keikòdr* and *Karsülh* (Melkòdr), *Kwoteiners* and *Kwelpushol* (Kiudr), *Tashtakhkush* (Pirsush), *Kwotirkwirg* (Kwirg), *Toarskâria* (Karia), *Pârners* and *Thindeuk* (Miuni). These are followed by the final two clauses, *karstram parstram*, *Nòttrzk èr usht md.*

The chief features of this prayer are that the chief villages of the Kuudrol have each two *kwarzam* and that two *kwarzam* of Òdr, a Nòdrs village, are included (see p. 647).

[1] Haug's *Aitareya Brahmanam*, Bombay, 1863, vol. ii., p. 85, note 11.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

The Kars Prayer

This consists of the *kwarzam* of the villages of the Karsol followed by *-k per mâ*, as in *Mutashkitik per mâ*, but in this case only one *kwarzam* is mentioned for each village. The following are the *kwarzam* with the corresponding villages in brackets: *Mutashkiti* (Kars), *Karadrners* (Kuzhu), *Kingners* (Keshker), *Kûlnkars* (Taradrkirsi), *Nersmi* (Nasmiòdr), *Eḍstârs* (Tashtars), *Keiikârs* (Kerkars), *Kuzhârmûdri* (Isharadr), *Pòḍshners* (Pòdzkwar), *Peleiners* (Peletkwur), *Tarskidt*, *Tûli*, *Sing*, *Keitaz*. In the last four cases the *kwarzam* and ordinary name of each village are the same. These *kwarzam* are followed by *ektrzam meidjam*, *Nòtîrzk êr usht mâ*. The place of *karsêram parsêram* in the Kuudr prayer is taken by *ektrzam meidjam*, the *kwarzam* of Teikirzi, but I do not know how far this is a special feature of the Kars prayer. It may be that the Tartharol have the latter formula. It is remarkable that the Karsol should omit *karsêram parsêram*, for it is the *kwarzam* of their *nòdrodchi*, Kulinkars.

Several of the *kwarzam* of this prayer are those of villages which no longer exist. The prayer thus preserves a record of Toda institutions which have entirely disappeared.

These prayers are also interesting as records of a number of village *kwarzam*. It will be noticed that in many cases there is a considerable degree of resemblance between the ordinary name and the *kwarzam*; in other cases the words are wholly different.

In villages on the west side of the Paikara River the *palikartmokh* says, "*Teikhârsk êr usht mâ*," may the buffalo appear to Teikhars, instead of *Nòtîrzk êr usht mâ* as the last clause. Teikhars is merely another name for Kulinkars. The reason for the modification is probably connected with the fact that the calf would have to cross the sacred Paikara River in order to go to Nòtirzi (Snowdon) on its way to Kulinkars.

I was unable, as usual, to obtain any information from the Todas on the significance of the *erkumpithpimi* ceremony, but the prayer offered before the calf is killed seems to make

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda
337

CHAPTER XV

FUNERAL CEREMONIES

THE funeral ceremonies of a Toda may be prolonged over many months. Soon after death the body is burnt and the general name for the ceremony on this occasion is *etvainolkedr*, the first day funeral (literally, "first which day funeral"). After an interval which may vary greatly in length, a second ceremony is performed connected with certain relics of the deceased which have been preserved from the first occasion. The rites on this occasion are more elaborate than at the *etvainolkedr*. The Toda name for this second funeral ceremony is *marvainolkedr*, the second day funeral, or "again which day funeral." The final scene, in which the relics are burnt and the ashes buried, takes place before daybreak on the morning following the *marvainolkedr*, and this part of the ceremony is known as *asaramkedr*, the name being derived from the *asaram*, or circle of stones within which the final cremation takes place.

The funeral ceremonies are open to all and visitors are often invited by the Todas. In consequence, the funeral rites are better known, and have been more frequently described than any other features of Toda ceremonial. Like nearly every institution of the Todas, however, they have become known to Europeans under their Badaga names. The first funeral is called by the Badagas *hase kedu*, the fresh or green funeral, and the term 'green funeral' has not only become the generally recognised name among the European inhabitants of the Nilgiri Hills, but has been widely

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

192 764 adopted in anthropological literature. The second funeral is called by the Badagas *bara kedu*, the 'dry funeral,' and this term also has been generally adopted. I never heard these terms used by the Todas themselves, who always spoke of the *etvainolkedr* and the *marvainolkedr*, though it seemed that the first funeral might sometimes be called *karchokedr*, which probably means fresh or green funeral.

177 764 The funeral ceremonies have undergone some modification in recent times owing to the intervention of the Government. Formerly it was the custom to slaughter many buffaloes at every funeral. This impoverished the people and was prohibited by the Government about forty years ago, and since that time the number of buffaloes killed at each ceremony has been limited to two for each person. This has had most influence on the second funeral ceremonies, which, largely owing to this prohibition, are now much less elaborate and prolonged than in former times.

764 The funeral ceremonies are held at certain appointed places called *kertnòdr*, different for each clan. Sometimes these places are at, or close to, villages where the people are now living; sometimes they are at places which were formerly inhabited; while in other cases, again, there is no evidence that the funeral places have ever been inhabited. In every case, whether inhabited or not, the place where a funeral is held is called a *mad*, the same name as is used for a village.

Each clan has at least two funeral places, one for males and the other for females, and in several cases a clan has more than one funeral place for each sex. Some clans have different places for the two funeral ceremonies, and the Piedrol, who have one outlying branch of their clan at Kavidi in the Wainad, have special funeral places for the first funeral of members of this branch, the second funeral, or *marvainolkedr*, being held at the chief funeral place of the clan. Others, again, have a special place for boys who have not passed through the ear-piercing ceremony.

349 764 In general, a funeral hut (see Fig. 48) is specially built for the reception of the dead body, this hut being usually erected within a stone circle found at the funeral place. At the funeral of a male, this hut is called *kertnòdrpali* or *neilpali*. It is

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

775 and they run no danger from this source, however bad they may have been.

The people of Taradr are said to have a separate Amnòdr near Külvari or Perithi, and they do not travel by Nidzmûtkârs or by Panîpikârs, nor do they cross Püvûrkin. They have no dangers by the way, and however wicked they may have been they go to their Amnòdr in security. Men, women and buffaloes all follow the same path.

Origin of Funeral Customs

773 763 The various funeral customs are said to have been partly ordained by Teikirzi. The following story is given as the account of their origin :—

At first no Toda died. After a time a Piedr man died at the village of Erparskòdr. He died in his hut and the Todas took his body to the funeral place, but on the way they laid it by a heap of stones between Erparskòdr and Umgas. The stones are still to be seen, and are called Möditikars.[1] While the body lay by these stones, some of the people were weeping bitterly; others were dancing and singing, and others were going to drive buffaloes. Teikirzi, who saw the people weeping, took pity and came to bring the dead man back to life. When she came to the place she found that though some of the people were crying, others seemed quite happy. She liked what she saw, and decided not to raise the dead man, so she went away and ordained that in the future some should cry at funerals and others should be happy, and her laws as to the conduct of the funeral ceremonies have been followed ever since.

Then the people took up the dead body and went on to Kûrûvòrs, near Umgas, where they performed the funeral ceremonies.

764 In the various complicated ceremonies described in this chapter there are certain features which may be briefly discussed.

192 [1] *Möditi* is the name applied to all the women of other tribes. It is perhaps suggestive that this name should be used for a stone connected with the goddess Teikirzi.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234 as chief of the herd, and how far to the bell it carried. It is
778 possible that this was the stage of evolution of the idea
534 in which the earliest visitors to the Nilgiris found the Todas.
174 We may suppose that gradually the sanctity became more
771 and more attached to the bell, less and less to its possessor, until now the Todas seem to have reached a position in which the bell-buffalo has little or no sanctity above its fellows, and the sanctity resides almost wholly in the bell. The original use of the bell now only survives in the ritual accompanying the migration of the *ti* buffaloes and in the funeral ceremonies.

[192] There is one small fact which may perhaps be taken to indicate that the word *mani* is now applied to any object of a sacred or magical nature. The armlet put on the wrist of a child at the naming ceremony is called *kansutimani*. If the last part of this word is the same as the name of the bell, it would seem to indicate that the word may be used for an object the significance of which is magical rather than religious, and in connexion with a practice which has probably been borrowed.

Relics

778 The Todas have a few relics of heroes which are regarded as objects of veneration, and are kept in the dairies. One of these, which is believed to be the armlet of the Kars man who went with the *ti* buffaloes in the story of Kwoto, is kept at Kuzhu, and has milk put on it during the dairy ritual in the same way as if it were a bell.

Another object is the ring of Kwoten which was found on the sambhar skin after the disappearance of this god. I saw this ring, which is of silver and far more massive than the rings worn by the Todas at the present time. Breeks states that in his time the Todas also claimed to have had in their possession the spear of Kwoten.

The Buffalo and its Milk

234 In discussing the sanctity of the bells of the Toda dairies
778 we have seen that there is some reason to think that these

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

and expensive for the *mokhthod'vaiol* than for the husband. Further, in some cases the *sedvaitasmokh* of a Teivali man may live with him exactly in the same way as a wife. Except for the prohibition against Teivali women living at Tarthar villages, and the important difference in the mode of descent of the children there seems to be little essential difference in some cases between the *mokhthoditi* union and marriage. In describing the institution, one of my informants laid great stress on the disability of a man of one division to perform the *pursiitpimi* ceremony for a woman of the other division and treated this as the essential point of difference. He seemed to regard this ceremonial disability as primary and the other differences as the secondary results, but I do not know how far this is the general Toda view.

Sexual Morality

From the foregoing account it appears that a woman may have one or more recognised lovers as well as several husbands. From the account given of the dairy ritual, it appears that she may also have sexual relations with dairymen of various grades—that, for instance, the *wursol*, on the nights when he sleeps in the hut, may be the lover of any Tarthar girl. Further, there seems to be no doubt that there is little restriction of any kind on sexual intercourse. I was assured by several Todas not only that adultery was no motive for divorce, but that it was in no way regarded as wrong. It seemed clear that there is no word for adultery in the Toda language. My interpreter, Samuel, had translated the Commandments shortly before my visit, and only discovered while working with me that the expression he had used in translating the seventh Commandment really bore a very different meaning.

When a word for a concept is absent in any language it by no means follows that the concept has not been developed, but in this case I have little doubt that there is no definite idea in the mind of the Toda corresponding to that denoted by our word 'adultery.' Instead of adultery being regarded as

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

is determined entirely by the *pursütpimi* ceremony. If in a polyandrous marriage the husbands belong to different clans, a child belongs to the clan of the husband who has last performed this ceremony, and, as we have already seen, in the case of the death of one of the husbands, the dead man may become the legal father of several children, if the surviving husband does not perform the ceremony of giving a bow and arrow to the wife. 611 851

Again, in the case of a woman becoming pregnant while still unmarried, the father of the child is the man who is called in to give the bow and arrow, although he may have had nothing to do with the woman before the ceremony. Further, if for any reason the husband of a woman should be prevented from performing the *pursütpimi* ceremony, some other man is called upon to give the bow and arrow and he becomes the father of the child. Lastly, in the numerous cases of transference of wives from one man to another by the *tererstthi* custom, one man may be the real father of a child, but another will become the legal father if the transference should take place in time for him to perform the essential ceremony.

The Todas show few traces of mother-right. In some communities there is little reason to doubt that such acts as are performed by a Toda towards his sister's son are survivals of a condition of society in which the mother's brother was responsible, largely or altogether, for the welfare of the child. Among the Todas, however, the *mun* stands in two relations to a child. He is the mother's brother, and he is also the prospective or actual father-in-law, and we have no means of telling in which of these two *rôles* he performs his duties. If the duties of a man towards his sister's son among the Todas be a relic of mother-right, there can be little doubt that this condition must have been very remote. 611 604

The Todas have a special name for the village of a man's mother—viz., *karuvnòdr*, or "honoured place," and when a *maunokh* gives a buffalo or other contribution on the occasion of a funeral, he speaks of it as a gift to his *karuvnòdr*. When a man visits his *karuvnòdr*, he goes to the door of the dairy 192 593 577

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

192 and bows down with his head to the ground at its threshold,
593 and then goes to the huts, where he is greeted with the
597 appropriate greeting, but this differs in no way from the procedure of a visitor to any *etudmad*.

114 Marshall in his book[1] on the Todas has suggested that the
existence of female succession among the buffaloes of the
234 Todas may be a relic of female descent among the people
611 themselves. He suggests that at one time the scheme of
descent and kinship was the same for the Todas and for their
842 buffaloes, and that with the introduction of polyandry there came in inheritance through males among themselves, while they continued to reckon the descent of the buffaloes in the female line.

We have seen (see p. 471) that the method of reckoning descent among the buffaloes is due superficially to the absence of names for male buffaloes and more deeply to the lack of interest in paternity. Nevertheless, Marshall's suggestion, wild as it may seem, should not be utterly scouted. The Todas regard their buffaloes so much as fellow creatures that any of their ideas concerning the relations of their buffaloes to one another should not be without interest to the student of social regulations.

234 If one may speak of social organisation among buffaloes—
611 and in the case of the Toda herds we are justified in doing
842 so—we have a state of society in some ways analogous to that which many sociologists suppose to have existed at one time
181 in the early stages of human society. We have various groups of buffaloes, and each buffalo—certainly each female buffalo—belongs to the same group as its mother. There is complete promiscuity, and the buffalo belongs to its mother's group because paternity is unknown or disregarded.

It is true that this condition is artificial, but it is this very artificiality which gives it its interest, for it shows that people like the Todas, whose whole lives are devoted to the buffalo, to whom the breeding of the buffalo should have the deepest interest, have allowed this state of things to come about. If they had attached importance to paternity nothing would have been easier than to regulate breeding, to record paternity,

[1] P. 132.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

114 influence has not been escaped by some of those who have
126 previously recorded words from the Toda language. Thus in his *Comparative Dictionary of non-Aryan Languages of India and Higher Asia*,[1] Hunter gives two vocabularies from different sources which he calls Toḍuva and Toḍa, and from the differences between these he thought they might be different dialects. According to Breeks these differences are due to the fact that the compiler of one vocabulary paid exclusive attention to the sounds he heard, while the compiler of the other was influenced by his knowledge of the derivation of the words. I have very little doubt that many of those who have recorded Toda words have not written them down exactly as the Todas said them, but as they ought to have said them according to the usual rules of Dravidian pronunciation.

We find, in consequence, very great diversity in the spelling of Toda words, and when there is agreement, it is of very little value, for many of those who have written on the Todas have evidently adopted the spellings of previous writers, even when they quite misrepresent the real sounds.

197 Another difficulty which besets the investigation of the Toda language is the presence of dialectical differences even in the small community of only eight hundred people. Metz[2] noted such differences, and I found undoubted variations in the vocabularies of the two divisions of the Todas (see p. 687) and suspected variations in pronunciation.

194 Still another difficulty is the large use of sounds, chiefly *sh*, *ch*, and *th*,[3] euphonically inserted in words. Pope notes this as quite a Toda peculiarity, and it adds greatly to the formidable character of this language, though a word of the most appalling complexity may become quite simple when these euphonic (!) sounds are eliminated.

191 Another of the sources of discrepancies in Toda vocabu-
192 laries is the influence of the Badagas to which I have already referred. The Todas are a bilingual people speaking Badaga in their intercourse with other races and keeping Toda for

[1] London, 1868.

[2] *Madras Journ. Lit. and Sci.*, 1857, N.S., vol. i. p. 104.

[3] These sounds have usually been omitted in the Toda words as written in this book.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

themselves. I have already pointed out that the great majority of the names of Toda places and institutions which have been recorded by previous writers are the Badaga names and not the Toda names, and, as might have been expected, many Badaga words have found their way into previously published Toda vocabularies.

In my own work my procedure was to take down a sentence first through the interpreter, then to go through the words of the sentence one by one asking the Toda to say each word carefully, and often he had to repeat it many times before I could satisfy myself about the nature of the sounds. Often I would get a second or third Toda to say the word, and I have frequently spent many minutes over one word, and have perhaps then been baffled in my attempts to write the word satisfactorily.

I noticed continually that the Toda words as pronounced by my interpreters were quite different in sound from those which came from the mouths of the Todas themselves. This was especially the case with the vowels, and in the addition of the initial *y*, so well known in the Tamil pronunciation of English. So far as I could detect, there was no trace of this initial *y* in Toda, although it occurs occasionally in some of the previously recorded Toda vocabularies.

These differences between the pronunciation of my interpreter and that of the Todas may often be the source of inconsistencies in my record, for on some occasions, owing to lack of time, I was unable to listen carefully to the Todas themselves, and had to content myself with the words given to me by the interpreter.

PHONETICS

In order to indicate the sounds of the Toda language, I have kept as closely as possible to the generally recognised system in use in India, but have been obliged to adopt many more signs than those usually employed.

The vowel sounds which I distinguished were very numerous. The following vowels and diphthongs certainly occurred:

1. Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

126 194 doubtful whether to write the name Piliodz in this way or as Pilioz or Piliodj (the three English equivalents would be the sounds of Dods, Boz and Dodge).

The sounds *s* and *sh* are often inserted euphonically; thus, the name Kuriolv is as often as not pronounced Kursiolv, and, more rarely, Kurshiolv.

Sacred Language

192 198 There are three varieties of sacred language in use among the Todas. There is the *kwarzam*, the word or clause used in prayer and other sacred formulæ; secondly, there are certain words and phrases peculiar to the *ti* dairy, and thirdly, there are certain words called by the Todas, *teu* language, which are only used in the legends of the gods.

The *kwarzam* is used especially for the names of gods, persons or objects used in the first portions of the prayers. It is also used in the magical formulæ and in the funeral laments, but it may be that the last use is only due to an extension of the strict meaning of the term. When I began to collect the prayers, I hoped that the *kwarzam* might turn out to belong to some ancient and otherwise forgotten language, but their general nature is evidently the same as that of other Toda words. The *kwarzam* arises either by a slight modification of a name in ordinary use or as a phrase recording some historical or mythical incident.

I give here a short list of *kwarzam* which, with a few exceptions, have not occurred elsewhere. The following are the *kwarzam* of the Tarthar clans:—

The Nòdrsol, *Nòdrstharkûtthars*; the Karsol, *Kârstharkunnadrpêdr*; the Panol, *Pandârpeshdthvaimokh*; the Taradrol, *Pûlkudutharpeithar*; the Keradrol, *Kerâdrtharkerâdrkûtan*; the Kanòdrsol, *Munantharpinnantho*; the Kwòdrdoniol, *Adutharathiars*; the Pämol, *Pämûtharkathar*; the Melgarsol, *Narzthar*. The *kwarzam* of the Kuudrol is *Ivikanmokhkûtmeilteu* (see p. 101), but the other Teivali clans have no such special names.

The only one of the above, of which the meaning is quite

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

clear, is that of Pan, in which case the *kwarzam* gives the names of the two *kudr* of the clan (see p. 652). The latter part of the *kwarzam* of the Keradrol means a horn or son of Keradr, and is also the name of a man, and with further knowledge there is little doubt that the other *kwarzam* would be found to have some meaning.

The following are the *kwarzam* of the buffaloes of the different clans:—

Nòdrs, *karûdchîrkündkh*; Kars, *inâtvidshti inâtvan*;[1] Pan and Taradr, *Mutchôthvanmodethokvan*; Keradr, *miniapîr mâvelkar*; Kanòdrs, *Tîrztashkkarzikunp*; Kwòdrdoni and Nidrsi, *Keitankeikar*; Päm, *Arzomolkutchi*; Melgars, *Narzulnatülnndkh*; Kuudr and Pedrkars, *Kishvettarskvan*; Piedr, *Kûzherikwelvpurserthunm*; Kusharf, *Nulkarsîrnazhuv*; Keradr, *Nelppârsîrkudeipar*; Kulhem, *Pelthrîrkan.*

The *kwarzam* of the Keradr buffaloes refers to the tradition of their creation (see p. 192), and here again with further knowledge there is little doubt that most of the *kwarzam* would be found to have a definite meaning, probably derived from legends concerning the buffaloes or the villages to which they belong.

The second kind of sacred language, in use at the *ti* dairies, has been already considered. Every kind of dairy vessel or other object used in the dairy ceremonial has a name at the *ti* different from that used in the house or village dairy. These different names have been given in describing the dairy ceremonial, but I have not hitherto referred to certain other differences of language, especially in verbal forms. Different words are used in the two kinds of dairy for the verb 'to drink'; thus, when a village dairyman orders another to drink buttermilk, he says "*Maf ân!*" while at the *ti* the *palol* says "*Kaizhvat!*" This latter formula is interesting in that *kaizh* is not the usual *ti* word for buttermilk (*mòr*) and only occurs, as far as I can ascertain, in conjunction with the verb *vat*. A village dairyman uses the verb *part*, pray, while at the *ti*, the verb *pôhvetnört* is used. Thus the question "have you prayed?" would be "*partikudricha?*" at the village and "*pôhvetnörtikudricha?*" at the *ti*. Similarly

[1] See story of Kwoto.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

192 198 different forms of the verb 'to milk' are used. "We have milked" at the village would be "*ïrkartkudrvispimi*," often shortened into *ïrkartspimi*, while at the *ti* "*karvukkudrivispimi*" would be said; "we have not milked" would be "*ïrkarami*" at the village and "*ïrkarpûkhami*" at the *ti*.

There are certain verbs used at the *ti* dairy which may only be pronounced by ordinary people in the third person. A good example is the verb *nört*, and it will be noticed that the names of ceremonies in which this verb is used have always been given in the third person, *ïrnörtiti*, and never in the first person plural as in the case of most other ceremonies.

About the third kind of sacred language, I know very little. It will have been noticed that the words and sentences which are used in the legends of Chapter IX are unlike those which occur elsewhere, and I was especially told that certain words only occurred in the stories of the gods. A special instance given was that of the words "*tar tûrzhodthrska*" (see p. 201), where *tar*[1] was said to be the *teu* word for 'man.' The words *kwudrpedrshai* and *kaipedrshai* in the same legend were given as other examples of *teu* language.

Secret Language

177 198 195 The Todas have a large number of expressions which they use in the presence of Badagas, Tamils and others when they wish to be understood only by themselves. Many of the Badagas and Tamils with whom the Todas associate no doubt pick up some knowledge of their language, and even if this were not the case, the Toda language is sufficiently like Tamil to enable a stranger to understand part of what is said. In consequence the Todas have adopted a secret code for use among themselves which they call *kalikatpimi*, literally "stolen we tie," while in distinction the ordinary language is called *itherkelv* or "front fact."

[1] The last syllable of the name Meilitars given to Kwoto is probably this word, so that the name means 'superior man.'

difference between the two divisions in the hand-burning ceremony is entirely foreign to this ritual. This is the ceremony of invoking Pirn and Piri, and there is no evident reason why this rite should be practised by the members of one division and not by those of the other. Similarly, the ceremony of offering to Namav by a Teivali woman when going to the seclusion-hut after childbirth stands entirely apart from the dairy ritual.

Both of these ceremonies are unlike the ordinary run of Toda ritual, and it is, on the whole, most probable that they have been borrowed.

We have thus seen that a large number of the ceremonial differences between the two divisions may be regarded as secondary consequences of the differences in the dairy ritual and that the few ceremonies which stand in no relation to the dairy ritual may have been borrowed.

Taking the differences of ceremonial as a whole, it is tempting to surmise that some of them may have arisen owing to differences of environment during some past stage of Toda history. The Todas now form so small a community, living in so small a space and knowing so much about each other, that it seems improbable that the differences can have come altogether into existence while they have been on the Nilgiri Hills. In so far as they can be explained as secondary consequences of the dairy organisation, it is possible that they may have arisen since the Todas have been on the Nilgiris, but when the practices have no relation to the dairy ritual it seems improbable that one division would have adopted a custom quite independently of the other.

Such a view would involve the consequence that at some time in their history the two divisions of the Toda people have had a different environment, and if the Todas are derived from one tribe or caste, this could only have come about if the two divisions came to the hills at different times, the interval having been sufficiently long to enable differences of ceremonial to have arisen. The differences would perhaps be still more readily explicable if we suppose the Tartharol and Teivaliol to have been derived from two different castes or tribes which reached the hills at different times, and I will

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

now proceed to give some evidence which points to this having really happened.

Perhaps the strongest evidence in this direction is the existence of the differences of language to which I have already referred. The chief differences are as follows:—

	Tarthar.	Teivall.
Wooden spoon	*chudi* or *sudi*	*kîrstegi*
Basket	*tòdri*	*putukkri*
Food vessel	*paterkh*	*tòdriterkh*
Round metal vessel	*kûdikunm*	*kûdichakh*
Milking-vessel	*pun*	*kònipun*
A dairy vessel	*tat*	*kashtat*
Iron instrument	*pòditch*	*pòtch*
Comb	*tîrkòli*	*tiekhkòli*
Small boy's cloak	*kuchâr*	*kupichâr*
Roof	*pòdri*	*idrnpòdri*
Western side of hut	*meilmerkal*	*meilkushkòni*
Eastern side of hut	*kîmerkal*	*kîkushkòni*
Mushroom	*kiân*	*âlabi*
A tree	*tipòti*	*ketak*
A black fruit	*kalpom*	*akatpom*
To-morrow morning	*telikhaski*	*pedrkhaski*

I was given one sentence as quite different in the two divisions. This was "Bring a piece of ragged cloth to the dairy!" By the Tartharol this would be rendered, *Palivorsk pari evâ*! but by the Teivaliol, *Kutanpari palivorsk panmeiliteivâ*! the chief difference here being in the verb.

Though these are all the differences in vocabulary of which I could obtain a record, I was told by the Tartharol that formerly there were many more, and that they were diminishing in number because "the Teivaliol were now learning to speak properly."

I think it possible that a phonologist might also detect many differences in pronunciation and accent in the two divisions. I thought that I detected such differences myself —that the Tartharol used a *k* when the Teivaliol used a *g*, for instance—but I am so uncertain about this that I do not feel entitled to lay any emphasis on it. In one case, however, the Todas themselves told me of a difference in pronunciation. They said that the usual word for dairy was pronounced as I have written it in this book but that by the Tartharol it was rather *pîili*.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAP. XII.

and information, he pointed direct to the west. 'Where the sun goes down'[1] he said. The quiet certainty with which he spoke, then ceased to speak, was impressive, leaving a feeling of sadness as from the vibrations of an air just played, or of 'a tale that is told;' to think that the place of their future residence—where Toda shall, without fail, meet Toda—was known to them; *that this man in his simple belief should be so clear on* a subject which has engaged the religious mind of refined nations for ages in vain.

The Toda makes use of the word pâpum for sin, but I more than doubt if he has any word for hell. In reality neither one nor the other subject engages his attention. What has already been described, is his deep-grounded belief: any little matters, as sin and punishment, may be looked on as after-growths. He has also Gods—a little g should be sufficient for them—presiding over certain hills and villages, but he seems to know nothing about them. Spirits and ghosts—bhût—devilry and witchcraft—pilli—also occupy a position in his beliefs. But the Todas are not communicative on these or indeed on any subject connected with religion or the unseen. Most probably they have but little to tell; and superstitious dread of the invisible or half-known, prompts them to keep that little, dark.

A reference to the vocabulary, will show that most words connected with what is commonly termed religion, are almost pure Sanskrit: whilst those relating to the extraordinarily simple practices in course of narration, are either much corrupted Sanskrit, or are free of Âryan influence. From these facts I deduce the possibility that prior to their migration into India, the Âryas of that era, when probably of a somewhat similar stage of culture to the Todas, may have influenced their rudimental religious proclivities. But that any ideas they now possess on religious subjects have come to them quite in modern times from Brahmanical sources; through

[1] See note 2 of Chapter V.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAP. XII.

the Hindu Badagas, with whom they have for several generations been on intimate terms: whose mode of worship they have had opportunities of noticing: and with whom they have often conversed on elementary religious topics. Thus, as I have noted, they have seized on a few words, and the names of a score of small Gods connected with maladies and diseases, of whom they know nothing but their names; but without having adopted a religion.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAPTER XXI.

THE DRY FUNERAL.

The burning of a Flute, Bow, and Arrows—The Dance—Scene with the Sacrificial Cattle—Again 'dust to dust'—Catching the Cattle—The Sacrifice—The Cattle-bell—No Priest concerned in the Ceremonies—Sprinkling of blood—Final burning of the Manes—The Kotas remove the dead Cattle.

CHAP. XXI.

IF the first obsequies may be held to express feeling and mournful sentiments for the deceased as true and sound as any we exhibit in like circumstances; the ceremonies of the bara kĕdu or dry funeral may with equal justice be looked on as partaking both of a propitiatory provisional nature and of a commemorative festival character—as if performed with the object of speeding the general welfare of the friend gone to the unknown country: but in a style of show and hospitality somewhat commensurate with his worldly importance.

Hence we find the Todas congregate in considerable numbers at the kĕdu Mand, and display their ornaments on these occasions: feeding also a large assembly of their own and neighbouring tribes, conspicuous amongst which, the Kotas, who attend with much discordant piping or flageolet music (they are the musicians—save the mark!—of these hills). A very well-behaved multitude, but whose presence may be noted as readily by the nose as by other organs.[1]

In the very early morning of the first of a two days'

[1] One now quite understands the value of the Toda expression, 'I see with my nose.'

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAP. XXV. describe the connection between such brothers as follows: 'Their fathers are brothers-in-law: their mothers being sisters, they are brothers.' An uncle is styled 'my little father'; most significant.

The marriage system I have described is elastic. It is capable of being modified in its internal working without change in the actual principle. Thus, when women are scarce, several men have to be content with one wife between them. But as women become more numerous, a greater proportion of men are able to procure a wife a-piece. This condition of permanent routine is supremely satisfying to the Toda mind.

The general expression for marriage is represented by the word kûdiken — I join.[6] Thus, 'Beliani is married to Nastufi' would be translated Beliani Nastufig kûdthchi, or they are joined to one another. But in addressing a man with the casual question of, 'Are you married?' the ordinary way of putting it, would be to say, 'Is there a son?'—Mokh vathchya? He would reply, Ha, mokh vathchi, 'Yes, there is a son:' or if married, but childless, he would detail, Ân kukh kûdthbini, mokh illade—'I joined a woman, a son is not.'

Similarly, the enquiry made of a woman would be, Belthta gavthchya?—'Is the neck-ring tied?'[6]

Mr. Metz has been so good as to describe for me a singular custom connected with weddings, which he learnt subsequently to my having left the Nilagiris: of which no sort of explanation can be supplied by the Todas.

When the wife has gone seven months with her first child, she retires with her husband alone, to the depths of the village wood, where at the foot of some tree she places a

[5] I am not certain that in the word 'join,' we have got the most primitive meaning of kûdiken. The Hindustani word kûdna, and its Sanskrit root kurdd = *play*, might be compared.

[6] For the modes in which husbands and wives address one another, see Chapter VII.

618 539 order to strengthen a new-born child, they smeared it all over with butter and put it in front of the fire; as a result the child died. Another is called mukoṛðurktoɪɾjvmɨvojvoʃjoɪʃ, "people of the house of those who carried large baskets to the mukoṛ swamp" or moɪvɣoɪɲoðmöʃɣüɑrtvojvoʃjoɪʃ, "people of the house of those who ground pepper without seeing the deer." It is told that seeing carrion-eating birds circling over a swamp they assumed that there was a dead deer there and went off with large baskets to bring back the flesh, telling the women meanwhile to grind a large heap of [83] pepper for the curry. Of the other two, more indelicate stories are told. One is called pikukveɲvotsvojvoʃjoɪʃ, "people of the house of one who put butter on the navel." A woman covered her navel with butter and made a dog lick it and have intercourse with her. The other is called pɯltʃvoʃjoɪʃ. It is said that formerly a man and woman of this poʃjoɪʃ had sexual intercourse with one another. The women of this line are said to be particularly strong in their sexual passions; the verb with this meaning ɑrtsti, "she is ● [182] passionate," and the noun ɑrikn, "passionate woman" are tabooed under the conditions described below, and it is said that the element pɯltʃ–, not otherwise found, has the meaning of these tabooed words.

Six poʃjoɪʃ of the töüviʃj survive: one other is known to have become extinct some years ago with the death of küɯɪsjɣümɪr of the koʃemoɪʃ (Kurikudr in Rivers' Table 72). The others are as follows. The üɑtvɑɣðɯrɾpodjvæɪʈoɪɖjvojvoʃjoɪʃ," people of the house of one who hunted the pig in the üɑtvɑx swamp" are so named because one of the line hunted a pig which he had seen for a whole day and yet let it escape him. Another is called nöɪɲgoɪʈkvɑrɨɣɑrtjvojvoʃjoɪʃ,"people of the house of those who sent fuel to nöɪɲgoɪɾ." Men of this line saw a hare, and intending to hunt it for food, set the family to work to collect fuel to roast it for three days. A third is called oɪrvmʈɣeɪrjvoʃjoɪʃ. The story is the same as for the oɪrvɯʈɣɑɪkvoʃjoɪʃ of the other division, except that the cakes were in a basket mukeɪrj, to which the element keɪrj in the name is equivalent. Another, the pevɯɪtɣoʃɪjvoʃjoɪʃ, "people of the house of the stealer of a large piece of meat," are so named because one of the line stole a large piece of meat at the sacrifice of a calf (æɪrɣɯmtt, "act of killing male buffalo").[1] A fifth is called kɯðɯrɣoɪlvɑʃjtʃetɑpeʃköðkjvojvoʃjoɪʃ,"people of the house of one who seizing a horse's leg pole-vaulted." It is told that a man, finding a dead horse, cut off the leg and vaulted with it until he reached the door of a house where he was beaten by the occupants. The last is called ömtöükörkojvɯɲæɪtpuɪʈvɯrkɯʈvojvoʃjoɪʃ, "people of the house of one who taking the milking-pot in his left hand at the tiɪ dairy called ömtöü broke

[1] See Rivers, p. 274.

4 [Sets of poljo:ɬ among the to:tóas -- ANALYST]

602 ing the hair or in bathing. The latter is so extended that one may not even be present while the other is bathing, though the preparing and bringing of bath-water is allowed and is as a matter of course done for a father by
[469] his daughter. Another curious taboo may be placed here, though it is limited in its operation in such a way that its allocation is somewhat doubtful. The water with which a man washes his right hand after eating (it should be remembered that in India the food is handled with the right hand only) must not be thrown away by his female poɭjoiɭ or ŭɯdmortkvæidvoj *who is older than himself.* His mother may do so and normally does until he marries, when his wife normally performs the office. His daughter or daughter-in-law may also dispose of the water. There is also a prohibition against breaking wind in the presence of a ŭɯdmortkvæidvoj or poɭjoiɭ of the opposite sex.

602 533 Men and women seldom sing together, though it sometimes happens, and more especially in the case of husband and wife. But ŭɯdmortkvæidvoj and poɭjoiɭ of opposite sex are forbidden not only to sing together but even to sing at the same time in one another's hearing. If a man is singing out of sight but within hearing of a woman of these categories and she wishes to burst into song, she will first ask who is singing and then regulate her actions accordingly; so also if a man hears a woman singing. One can only suppose that if they sang at the same time, they would be considered to be acting as if they were marriageable.

521 602 196 ● 192 References to all subjects, whether regarded by our communities as decent or indecent, are very freely made in Toda conversations, as I have had occasion to observe when getting information from parties in which both men and women were present. Very frank speech is usual with women as well as men. But between poɭjoiɭ or ŭɯdmortkvæidvoj of opposite sex, or even when one of these is present in the company but not actually addressed, this freedom is taboo. Reference, whether direct or by circumlocution, is forbidden to sexual intercourse, menstruation, the private parts, including by extension the nipple, the navel, the armpit, and pubic hair, to
[353] the secreta, or breaking wind. Biting the skin of the neck while making
[522] love seems to be common, and the red mark which lasts for some time is a subject for the jest: "You have been bitten by a tiger." Use of the compound verb stems which denote the act of biting in this way (mɯɾγŭart–, "neck-cut," and kŭartγŭɯɾt–, "cutting-give") or any indirect reference or jesting is forbidden between people between whom the taboos operate. So also is the use of the word kŭɯidjvŏɪn, "fowl-lice," which also denotes the insects found in the pubic hair or the hair of the armpits; reference to these insects is also forbidden. Other words are forbidden in specific senses.

5; Emeneau L-5 (1935-37) 1937 Toda

Thus aḍṙ–, "dig," is allowed when a word for "pit" is used with it, but forbidden when used with a word meaning "woman," in which case it means "rape;" so also ku ʃt–, "pluck up by the roots," which with a word for woman means "rape." The word nuṛtj–, "make walk," is permitted when ur, "buffalo," is compounded with it in the sense "drive buffaloes on migration" or "pay a buffalo as a fine for pollution of the dairy,"[10] or when in combination with a word for "bead" it means "string (beads)," or in other uses not involving indecency; when a word for "woman" is used with it, it means "have sexual intercourse with" and is forbidden. So also the very common verb paɪj–, "seize, take," which with a word for woman means "have sexual intercourse with." The stem oɪj–, "become," is very frequent, usually in compounds; when used by itself, it means "menstruate" and is forbidden. The word poɪṭj–, "shout" is forbidden in the sense "(woman) cries out during sexual intercourse." Again *atvat* is an imperative with literal meaning "in that direction-seize." It usually is found in contexts where it means "take this and hold it stretched out that way;" it is forbidden in this sense since the same utterance can also mean as applied to a woman "have sexual intercourse in animal position." It can also be used as an exclamation "nonsense!" and this use is not forbidden. In the same way puṇ, "gold bangle in a dairy," is forbidden when used in the sense "privates of a young girl." Similarly poɪθj, "moss," may not be mentioned since a variety of moss is used during menstruation as a sanitary napkin. Women are tattooed and any reference to the process of tattooing or to the markings is forbidden. The word for "tabooed words," kɪrpoṇt, lit. "inferior-words," is itself tabooed.

These language taboos produce an interesting result in the field of social habits. Wordy quarrels about marriage arrangements, the financing and details of ceremonies, and other affairs are very common among Toda men. These quarrels most frequently take place at the large gatherings at ceremonies of all kinds. Since on most such occasions, especially at funerals, many women are present, the probable presence of ũudmortkvæidvoj or poɟjoɪɟ within hearing prevents the use of indecent language by the quarrelers. My informants tell me that this is the rule also in quarrels at purely male gatherings; evidently indecency has not become an element in abuse under any circumstances, since its prohibition in some circumstances has prevented the growth of a habit. I am also told that quite recently, with the relaxing of all taboos and the example of Tamil speakers, a certain amount of indecency has crept into the language of abuse.

[10] See Rivers, pp. 293–305.

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

847 native veracity with reference to this point, and, in view
178 of the lack of encouragement which the practice receives from the Indian Government, this is not altogether surprising. The supposition of female infanticide, by accounting for the great disproportion in the numbers of the sexes, brings the Todas into harmony with what is known of the rest of mankind." In summarising his conclusions, Mr. Punnett notes that:—

[167] (1) Among the Todas, males predominate greatly over females.

(2) This preponderance is doubtless due to the practice of female infanticide, which is probably still to some extent prevalent.

(3) The numerical preponderance of the males has been steadily sinking during recent years, owing probably to the check which foreign intercourse has imposed upon female infanticide.

764 In connection with the death ceremonies of the Todas, Dr. Rivers notes that "soon after death the body is burnt, and the general name for the ceremony on this occasion is etvainolkedr, the first day funeral. After an interval, which may vary greatly in length, a second [765] ceremony is performed, connected with certain relics of the deceased which have been preserved from the first occasion. The Toda name for this second funeral ceremony is marvainolkedr, the second day funeral, or 'again which day funeral.' The funeral ceremonies are [574] open to all, and visitors are often invited by the Todas. In consequence, the funeral rites are better known, and have been more frequently described than any other features of Toda ceremonial. Like nearly every institu-
764 tion of the Todas, however, they have become known to
● 192 Europeans under their Badaga names. The first funeral is called by the Badagas hase kedu, the fresh or green

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

funeral, and the term 'green funeral' has not only become the generally recognised name among the European inhabitants of the Nilgiri hills, but has been widely adopted in anthropological literature. The second funeral is called by the Badagas bara kedu, the 'dry funeral,' and this term also has been generally adopted." The various forms of the funeral ceremonies are discussed in detail by Dr. Rivers, and it must suffice to describe those at which we have been present as eye-witnesses.

I had the opportunity of witnessing the second funeral of a woman who had died from smallpox two months previously. On arrival at a mand on the open downs about five miles from Ootacamund, we were conducted by a Toda guide to the margin of a dense shola, where we found two groups seated apart, consisting of (*a*) women, girls, and brown-haired female babies, round a camp fire; (*b*) men, boys, and male babies, carried, with marked signs of paternal affection, by their fathers. In a few minutes a murmuring sound commenced in the centre of the female group. Working themselves up to the necessary pitch, some of the women (near relatives of the deceased) commenced to cry freely, and the wailing and lachrymation gradually spread round the circle, until all, except little girls and babies who were too young to be affected, were weeping and mourning, some for fashion, others from genuine grief. In carrying out the orthodox form of mourning, the women first had a good cry to themselves, and then, as their emotions became more intense, went round the circle, selecting partners with whom to share companionship in grief. Gradually the group resolved itself into couplets of mourners, each pair with their heads in contact, and giving expression to their emotions in unison. Before

8:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
AW60 Toda AW60

patrilineal sib. Only one name is borne by each individual. Rivers[1] mentions the fact that, if two individuals bear the same name, one of them will change his name. Such identity of name is avoided merely to escape confusion and misunderstanding. Identical names can seldom occur among men for reasons that will be clear later in this paper. They are more likely to occur among women. One recent case is that of two women who were named sondɑrɨtdz. One of these is the daughter of ɨmuxfuɨn (19, Imokhvan)[2] and she retains the name in this form. The other is the daughter of midzxŭuɨr (63, Midjkudr); she is usually called sondɯr to distinguish her from the other, though her full name may still be used when there is no possibility of confusion.

§3. To make clear the background of the naming system it is necessary to clarify the religious system of the Todas. Each sib possesses a number of munds,[4] which are essentially holy places or gods with dwelling houses attached. The holy place or god is the localized dairy-complex, all the elements of which are holy. The elements are the sacred buffaloes (as opposed to the non-sacred buffaloes), the dairies, and the milk of the buffaloes. No further localization of the divinity appears to be made within the complex. All the contents of the dairies, bells, tools, coagulant (called pep), partake to some degree of the holiness of the complex, and, like the buffaloes and the milk, must not be profaned by contact with profane persons; but it cannot be discovered that any object or place is especially the seat of the divinity. Linguistic evidence has made it clear that this is correct. In both songs and speech the mund (excluding the dwelling houses) is referred to as töü "god" or nɵiɾ "sacred place" or by the compound töünoiɾ, and my informants can make no distinction between these terms, or between mod "mund" and noiɾ when these two form a pair in the songs.[5] These divinities are to some extent anthropomorphic, since it is said that all the gods, including the gods of the Hindu pantheon worshipped in the plains, the Toda gods who are mountains and rivers of the Nilgiris, as well as the god öm who lives in the world of the dead, and the gods who are the munds, i.e. the töünoiɾ, hold assemblies to settle their disputes in the dairy of the mund mymj.

[1] W. H. R. Rivers, *The Todas* (London, 1906), p. 625. He has a chapter on "Personal Names," pp. 619–27.

[2] The number of the genealogical table in Rivers and the spelling of the name in the table will be given for each individual mentioned.

[4] Toda terminology applies the word mod to (1) the sib as a whole, (2) each separate dairy institution plus a dwelling place which belongs to the sib, and in several other ways which are not in point here.

[5] For the technique of the songs, see my paper, *The Songs of the Todas* (Proceedings, American Philosophical Society, Vol. 77, pp. 343–60, 1937).

8:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
AW60 Toda AW60

193 551 §9. The frequent suffix -küuṭṇ has defied analysis. Rivers[8] thought that it was connected with the word for "horn," but the difference in the quantity of the diphthongs makes it unlikely, and my informants refuse to recognize any connexion between the two. It may be added to a word, as in puṭʃofxüuṭṇ (a son of sirjaɪr 20)<puṭʃof, a mountain near the mund toɪroɪr, or it may be substituted for another suffix, as in tuɪpuɪsxüuṭṇ (20; referred in §6)<tuɪpuɪsforü, the kogfoʃj dairy at toɪroɪr; kæɪnxüuṭṇ, son of toɪliɪðj and nertnuɪs (24, Töleidi and Nertiners)<kæɪnaʃf, the üuɪsoʃj dairy at the mund karkos. A son of küarom of the puɪrgoɪroʃ (34, Kwodron) is named asojxüuṭṇ<asojuɪr, the buffaloes of the tiɪ of this sib. [177] köɪkisjxüuṭṇ (20, Kekarikutan, which represents the Toda form of the Badaga name of another man kekæɪrjxüuṭṇ in table 25)<köɪkisjxuɖd, the name of buffalo-track (kuɖd) leading to the mund toɪroɪr.

§10. Another frequent suffixal element is -fuɪn; e.g. in karorfuɪn (21, Karadrvan)<karorfuɪt, name of a mountain (tuɪt) near toɪroɪr; uɪrküuɪrfuɪn (24, Idrkudrvan)<uɪrküuɪrfaɪuɪ, a river (paɪuɪ) near Mt. karor; puɪtʃefuɪn (24, Pachievan)<puɪtʃof, a mountain near toɪroɪr (cf. puɪtʃofxüuṭṇ in §9); kergæɪrfuɪn (25, Kerskedrvan)<kergæɪrfaɪuɪ, a stream near the mund paʃtaɪr; asojfuɪn<asojuɪr, the buffaloes of the tiɪ belonging to the puɪrgoɪroʃ, is another name of poɪtuɪs (35, Patirsh; cf. asojxüuṭṇ in §9); mupuɪfuɪn (16, Mopuivan)<mupuɪf, the conspicuous mountain, called Staircase by the English. This element may be added to [888] the name of any old man, apparently as a mark of respect, e.g. pæɪðoɪʃ or pæɪðoɪʃfuɪn, kæɪmodz or kæɪmodzfuɪn; and many names which have this final element may also appear without it in familjar speech. Rivers was told that the suffix is the same as the word for the stone circles on the summits [114] of some hills, but the Toda word for these circles is muɪn, which cannot be connected with the suffix. The word puɪn, which is the only possibility, [192] means "gold, the gold bangle kept in a dairy; the privates of a small girl; afterwards" and none of these meanings seems to be appropriate, except possibly the first.[9]

---

[83] [553] her by stealth; each will hide in the bushes and wait for her to come to him. It is undoubtedly the erotic language that suggests this second meaning. The phallic bearings of the passage are obvious.

Other passages which can be interpreted as containing sexual symbolism, either conscious or unconscious, will be available when my complete collection of song-texts is published.

[8] Rivers, *op. cit.*, p. 619.

[9] In case sexual symbolism should be looked for here, I observe that caution must be used. The three meanings given for puɪn belong to three South Dravidian words which have quite distinct phonetic forms in most of the other languages, and it may be found that the suffix -fuɪn derives from still a fourth distinct phonetic entity. Until the historical grammar of Toda

83 192

8:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
AW60 Toda AW60

§11. Another frequent suffix is -nuɪs. It is found also in a number of küasm of munds and in these it is possible to find a meaning for it. E.g. myɪnj of the kuɪtüuṭoɪ̯ is the place where the gods hold their assembly (cf. §3); its first küasm is paɪrnuɪs which is interpreted by the Todas as "standing-place (nuɪs) of the 1600 (paɪrnuɪr) gods." There seems to be no reason to doubt this interpretation; the gods are said in a song-pair to be 1600 (paɪrnuɪr) and 1800 (puɪṭɲuɪr) in number. If this is correct, nuɪs, found only as a suffix or second member of a compound, is to be connected with the verb stem nuɪl- "to stand;" the change of l to s is paralleled elsewhere in the language. So also the küasm komnuɪs of the mund nyɪḷɲ of the meḷgaɪsoɪ̯ is to be interpreted as kom-nuɪs "the place of the god kom;" kom or komsöö is the mountain near this mund. The first küasm of the mund meḷgaɪs is naɪsnuɪs, clearly to be connected with the two küasm of the people of this sib, naɪsθoɪr, naɪsfep, the first of which has the element toɪr which means the endogamous moiety toɪrθasoɪ̯ as a whole or the people of each sib of this moiety. The first küasm of the buffaloes of this sib, naɪsɪ̈ḷɲ, is also to be adduced, and the name of the pen at meḷgaɪs, naɪsküuɪ (i.e. naɪs-küuɪ "pen"), which is also the name of a man (45, Narso). What the element naɪs means is quite unknown; but naɪsnuɪs is "the place of the naɪs." Two munds, kɪuɪr of the kuɪtüuṭoɪ̯ and küaɪrθyɲj of the puɪrgoɪroɪ̯, have küatæmuɪs as their first küasm. This is undoubtedly to be interpreted as "the standing-place of küatæm (the semi-mythical hero who was one of the möɪroɪ̯ sib);" what connection he had with these two munds is unknown. Two place-names, not küasm, with this element are poɪ̯jnuɪs "the place of the funeral-ḫut," a male funeral-place of the kuɪtüuṭoɪ̯, and maɪsnuɪs, a female funeral-place of the möɪroɪ̯, with unknown prior member. It is now established that the element -nuɪs is appropriate in place-names and küasm of munds. A brother of moɪngɪθj (15, Mongeithi), not recorded in the tables, is kɪuɪdnuɪs, whose name is the first küasm of the mund kɪ̈ṣker of his sib. kuɪsnuɪs (56, Karsners) < the first küasm of the mund taɪmuɪx of his sib. The name kɪnuɪs (26, Kiner) is derived from kɪnuʃnuɪs, the first küasm of the mund köɪroɪ̯, either by omission of the second syllable or by loss of the third syllable and rebuilding of the second on the pattern of other personal names ending in -nuɪs. For it is certain that -nuɪs is now felt as a

---

is worked out, we shall not know whether the homonymy is of long standing or very recent, and the chronology should, I think, be taken into account in making any psychoanalytic study. It may be remarked, however, that the meanings "gold" and "privates of a young girl" have been represented by homonyms sufficiently long so that the first word is under a taboo in circumstances where the language-taboos work (see *Toda Marriage Regulations and Taboos*, p. 110).

8:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
AW60 Toda AW60

000
551
533

when I recorded such names. The tendency appears to use words that have song-associations, and one may refer especially to the large class of names with pun "gold," a word used in this sense in songs and not so used in ordinary speech. It may be that this tendency is even more powerful than appears to the non-Toda observer, since it is extremely difficult for him to know what connotations a word may or may not have and informants are inarticulate on this matter. It may be, again, that the feeling that an outsider receives, that Toda women's names are generally rather poetical in the Western sense, i.e. in their reference to objects with aesthetic associations, is not entirely in accordance with Toda feelings. I can only adduce a small bit of evidence which I have already used in *The Songs of the Todas*.[11] In composing a song lamenting the death of the late King George V, the composer changed kiŋsoɯrdʒ, the Toda form of the king's name, into siŋsoɯrdʒ. He gave as the reason for this change that the former is not "poetical" and the latter is; my interpreter explained that kiŋ- suggests the word for "small" while siŋ- suggests the word for "gold," i.e. sin. This being so, we may conclude that women's names with the element sin "gold" are poetical to the Todas, i.e. they suggest to them the vocabulary of song. We have already seen that those with pun "gold" are poetical in the same sense, and I think that it is possible to conclude that women's names in general have for the Todas much the same connotations that they have for us. They are connected with the expressions of song and derive their connotations from the songs, and so may be justly said to be poetical.

[192]

YALE UNIVERSITY
NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT

[11] *Op. cit.*, p. 353.

10:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
AW60 Toda AW60

Most of the deities who are named and of whom stories are told are the tö:uθu:t and it is about these that Rivers acquired much information. They are "the mountains (tu:t) which are gods (töu)," and with them we may include the river deities. They are very real to the Todas; for details I refer to Rivers, since little that is new on these gods has come to me. But they are not the gods of the sibs. They have connexions with the villages of the sibs (the villages are called *mod*, Englished as "mund"), e. g. tö:kiʃ created most of the Toda institutions at the mund no:ʂ and this connexion is kept very much in mind. They may also be offended against, and diviners may and do sometimes say that such and such misfortunes have come to a man because he has so offended, especially against the river gods by breaking the regulations concerning the crossing of rivers. But these töuθu:t are not the most important gods to the Todas.

The töuno:ʂ are by all odds the most present divinities in Toda consciousness. These are the gods of the munds, or rather of the dairy-complexes localised at munds. Most munds consist of one or more dairies, buffalo-pens, and other appurtenances of the dairy-cult, together with several houses in which the people live. The dairy section of the mund is the töuno:ʂ and it is clear from the song-phraseology and the prayers that it is not only the dairies that are denoted by this term, but the whole dairy-complex associated with the dairies. The prayers are made up of names of everything connected with the complex, dairies, sacred buffaloes, pens, calf-sheds, bells, utensils and tools used in the dairies, and coagulant. The dairyman in that he is the servant of the complex is to this extent connected with it. The complex may suffer pollution in any of its parts, and for this reason women, who are the chief source of pollution, are rigorously separated from the complex and not allowed to approach it from the house across a line that is marked by a stone or stones. The houses in fact are designated as a:ʂ as opposed to the dairy section of the mund which is no:ʂ "sacred place." Within the no:ʂ it cannot be discovered that any element is the local seat of the divinity. The linguistic evidence shows that the no:ʂ itself is the god. Both songs and ordinary speech refer to the sacred part of the mund as töu "god" or no:ʂ "sacred place" or töuno:ʂ, a compound of the two words denoting "the sacred place which

10:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
AW60 Toda AW60

is a god." Likewise mod "mund" and no:ṛ "sacred place" may be used as equivalent terms in songs. We must conclude that the "sacred place" and the "god" are the same thing, the localized dairy-complex. Examples of song-phraseology are as follows:[1]

no:ṛo:selm	ku:tjuθno:ṛ
sacred places-all	to which she gathered-sacred place
tõuno:selm	"
gods-all	"

i. e. "(no:ṛ), the sacred place to which the goddess tö:kiṛj gathered all the sacred places, all the gods."

moreθarm	kumṛtmθno:ṛ
children-charity	which gave-sacred place
mreθarm	"
buffaloes-charity	"

i. e. "the place (or, god) which gave children and buffaloes in abundance."

no:ṛexu:ḍtk	pi:mθno:ṛ
sacred places-meeting-to	which went-sacred place
tõuno:ṛtk	"
gods-meeting-to	"

i. e. "the sacred place (or, god) which went to the assembly of the sacred places, of the gods." The assembly to which the gods go is held in the dairy of the mund my:nj to settle disputes and matters of interest to the gods. Here all the gods, the tõuθu:ṭ, the tõuno:ṛ, and the gods of the Hindu pantheon, assemble and they are said to be 1600 or 1800 in number.[2] From this the tõuno:ṛ are clearly seen to be anthropomorphic, as is also evident since it is said that a tõuno:ṛ may become angry and visit misfortune on anyone guilty of polluting that particular dairy-complex.

---

[1] See *The Songs of the Todas*, reference given in note 1.

[2] The two numbers make the song-pair; pa:rnu:rθu, pu:ṭpu:rθu "1600 gods, 1800 gods." That the conception is of fairly ancient standing with the Todas seems clear from the Toda interpretation of the first "holy name (knaṃ)" of the mund my:nj, which is pa:rnuṃ, said to mean "the standing-place (nuṃ) of the 1600 gods (represented by pa:r for pa:rnu:r)." For further discussion of this sacred name, see *Personal names of the Todas* §11.

12:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938)1941 AW60 Toda AW60

601 [576]

Formal salutations are not used by a man to his female cross-cousins, or to any woman not related to him in a patrilineal or matrilineal sib, by marriage, or by a "lover-mistress" relation; nor by a woman to her male cross-cousins, or to any man not related to her in a patrilineal or matrilineal sib, by marriage, or by a "lover-mistress" relation.

[114]

There is an unfortunate omission in my material; it is not known how a man addresses his brother's wife and how a woman addresses her sister's husband. Husband-wife terms seem more probable than brother-sister terms, but the point needs to be investigated.

192 ● 601

A further note should be added on the words mox and kuɪx. It will be seen that in reference the simplex terms mox = "son" (sometimes extended in a collective sense "children") and kuɪx = "daughter," and that as final members of terms they denote "male" and "female" respectively, but that in address neither is used in this sense, while kuɪxjɑɪ in address = "wife." Further, toɣmox "wife" is a combination of toɣ-, not otherwise found, and mox (the first element must be descriptive of the second, i.e. it is the wife who is some kind of mox). Kuɪx is used in texts often to mean "young woman." In the songs a wife is addressed, usually when a husband laments her death, with the vocative ɯɑɔxuɪxjɑɪ, containing kuɪx; a husband, usually when a wife laments his death, with a vocative ɯɑɔmɔxjɑɪ, containing mox. Any child is addressed in songs with the pair: enmɔxubɑɪ, enmɑrjubɑɪ, containing mox in the meaning "child" and, equated with it, mɑrj which in prose means "offspring of animal (except buffalo) or bird." From a Toda point of view the basic meaning of kuɪx is probably "female" or perhaps "young female," all the other meanings developing from that. Mox is much more intractable, though the meaning "child, especially male child" may possibly be basic. The term ɯɑɔmɔxjɑɪ "husband!" could possibly have been derived from a practise whereby the wife adopted her mother-in-law's usage, but the conditions certainly do not exist in present-day usage, and on the whole such an explanation is dubious. Toɣmox would still be unexplained and will remain so until the prior element is explained.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA

4: Yalman E-4,5 (1954-1956) 1971 AX4 Sinhalese
Toda AW60

and-arrow ceremony of the Todas, the position of the child in the kin group is not in any doubt. We cannot argue that wherever we have the general structure we shall also find a loose or easily alterable connection between the spouses, but we can argue that the orderliness of marriageable and nonmarriageable kin categories permits a wide definition of the connection between the spouses: it can mean simply "intercourse," or, as in southern Ceylon, it can create a unique estate and a lasting bond between the pair. The open possibility of the loose connection clearly makes both polyandry and polygyny possible among people who utilize some version of the general structure. We shall look at further examples later on.

The similarity between the kin structure of the Toda and the peoples discussed in Ceylon is hardly surprising. There have been many close contacts between Ceylon and the mainland. Not only does the culture give an impression of underlying similarity but the similarity sometimes persists when pursued to the particulars of ceremonies. Thus the gift of a cloth at the union of a man and woman is a custom found among the Toda, the Sinhalese, and many castes on the Malabar coast. Again, the white cloths which are placed on the corpse by the Kandyan Sinhalese are found among the Toda (and Nayar) though each community puts this cloth to different use.

The further similarity, too, in such key words as *ichchil* (pollution) in Toda and *kili* in Sinhalese, or *matchuni* (Toda for cross-cousin) and *massina* (Sinhalese), and many others increases the impression that we are dealing with variations on a common theme.[4] It is the fundamental features common to both systems which have engaged our attention: it could certainly not be claimed that structural similarity goes beyond the fundamentals. But that is the point: each community in this region uses a variety of special customs to set itself off from others. The manner of wearing clothes, different types of sari and dress, bodily marks—all these are well known. But it appears that the process has been carried even into matters of structural importance, so that one community will have a certain kind of marriage simply in order to distinguish itself even more from another community.

TANJORE ADI DRAVIDA AND BRAHMAN

Although many books have been written by scholars and others on the multifold aspects of Southeast India, those that deal with kinship are few, and of recent date. Our conclusions must, of necessity, be limited

[4] The intriguing similarity between the manner of wearing their robes by the Toda priests (who handle the sacred milk) and by Buddhist monks elsewhere is obviously hardly an accident.